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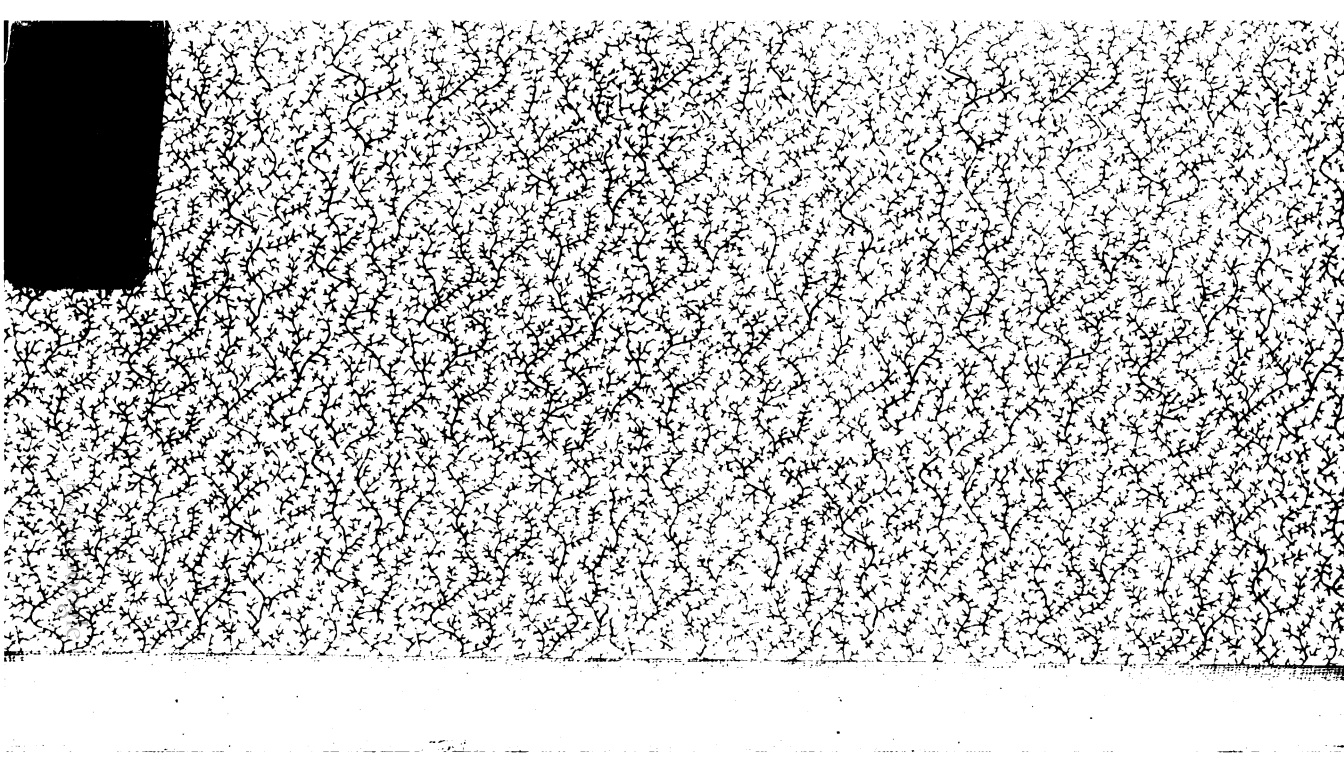

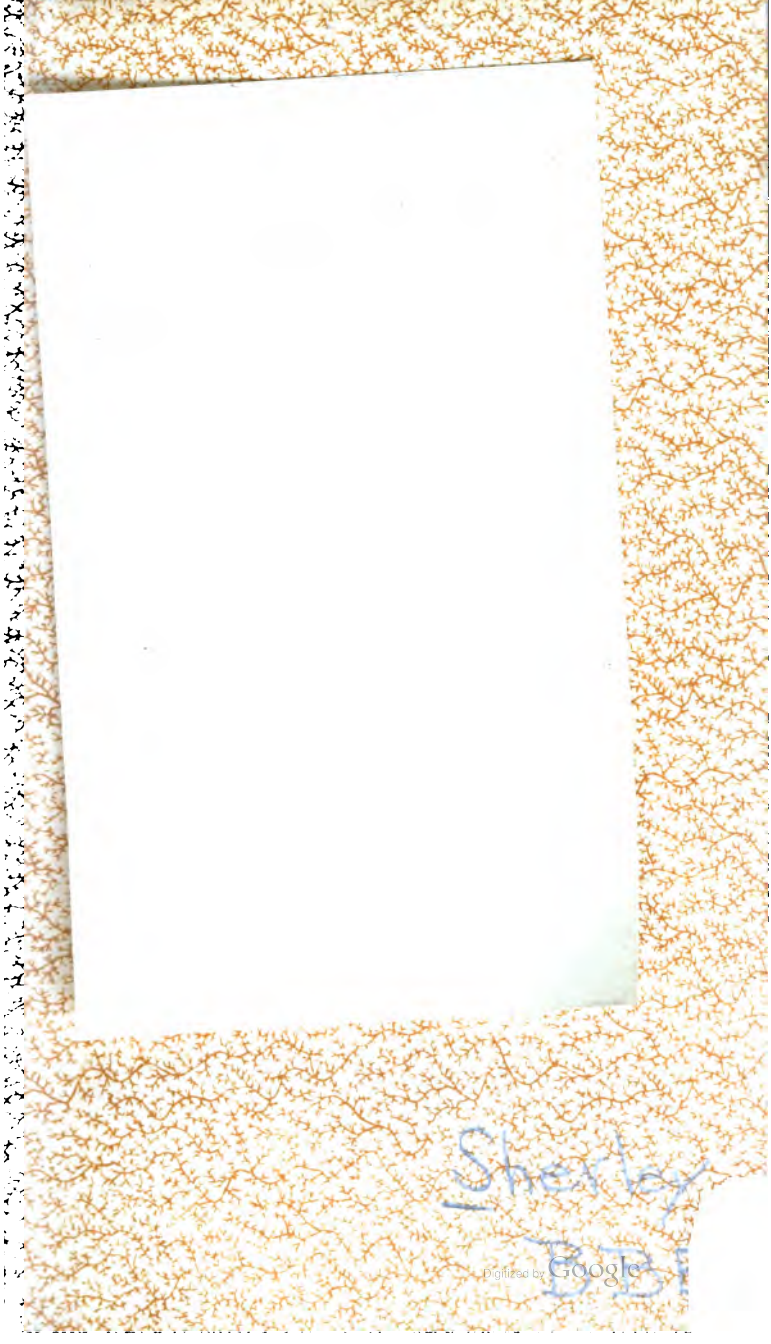
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SIR ANTHONY SHERLEY.

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Asia - Description 16th c

THE THREE BROTHERS;

OR,

THE TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES

OF

SIR ANTHONY, SIR ROBERT, & SIR THOMAS

SHERLEY,

IN PERSIA, RUSSIA, TURKEY, SPAIN, ETC.

WITH PORTRAITS.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE biography of Sir Anthony and Sir Robert Sherley being scattered over many different volumes, some in manuscript, and some in print, their travels and adventures are, in general, little known, and have, in consequence, sometimes, been confounded together. But the little that was known of adventures so novel and so extraordinary, having at different times excited a desire for more accurate and detailed information, a late publisher determined to collect whatever could be discovered relating to them. For this purpose all accessible sources of information have been explored, and the various particulars collected are now brought together. For the most part, the several portions extracted from different

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works are given in the words of the authors; and, although necessarily exhibiting various styles of composition, it is hoped they will be considered as forming an entertaining whole.

Notwithstanding the accounts now extant of the Travels of Sir Thomas Sherley are of a much less striking kind than those of his younger brethren, it was thought that this small volume would be rendered more complete, by adding so much of them as could be obtained; which has, accordingly, been done.

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LADY TERESIA SHERLEY.

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THE TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES

OF

SIR ANTHONY, SIR ROBERT, AND SIR THOMAS SHERLEY.

THE author of "The Genealogies of the Sherley Family," a Latin manuscript in the British Museum, in his enthusiastic attachment to that house, traces it from the time of Edward the Confessor, in the male line, to the illustrious scions above named, and assures us that it has had the honor to be allied not only to the royal blood of England, both Saxon and Norman, but likewise to that of France, Scotland, Denmark, Arragon, Leon, Castile, the sacred Roman Empire, and almost all the princely houses in Christendom; and amongst the English nobility to the Dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham, Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Huntingdon, Pembroke, Nottingham, Suffolk, Berkshire, and the Barons of

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Berkley: and if we are to believe him, their achievements have been as noble and as various as their alliances. The actions of the three brothers of that house, whose lives and adventures are the subject of these pages, deserve to be placed by the side of those of the most illustrious of their progenitors. Perhaps no three persons of one family ever experienced adventures at the same time so uncommon and so interesting. Sir Thomas, Sir Anthony, and Sir Robert Sherley, were the sons of Sir Thomas Sherley of Wisneston, or Wiston, in Sussex, by Anne his wife, the daughter of Sir Thomas Kemp, Knight. As Sir Thomas Sherley, though the first in age, was the last in distinguishing himself, "men's activity," as Fuller says, "not always following the method of their register," we shall so far invert the order of chronology as to end instead of beginning with him.

Anthony Sherley, the second son, was born about 1565. He was sent to Hart Hall, Oxford, where he was matriculated in 1579, was admitted Bachelor of Arts in 1581, and, in November in the same year, elected Probationer of All Souls' College, being related to the founder of this College by his mother's side; but he left the University, without taking the degree of Master of Arts*. "In my first years," says he,

* Fuller, Wood, Birch.

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in the "Relation of his Travels*," "my friends bestowed on me those learnings which were fit for a gentleman's ornament, without directing them to an occupation; and when they were fit for agible things, they bestowed them and me on my prince's service, in which I ran many courses of divers fortunes, according to the condition of the wars, in which, as I was most exercised, so was I most subject to accidents. With what opinion I carried myself (since the causes of good or ill must be in myself, and that a thing without myself) I leave it to them to speak; my places yet in authority, in those occasions were ever of the best; in which, if I committed error it was contrary to my will, and a weakness in my judgement; which, notwithstanding, I ever industriated

* "Sir Anthony Sherley, his Relation of his Travels into Persia, the Dangers and Distresses which befel him in his Passage, both by Sea and Land, and his strange and unexpected Deliverances, his magnificent Entertainment in Persia, his honorable Imployment there-hence as Embassadour to the Princes of Christendome, the Cause of his Disappointment therein, with his Advice to his Brother, Sir Robert Sherley. Also a true Relation of the great Magnificence, Valour, Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and other manifold Virtues of Abas, now King of Persia, with his great Conquests, whereby he hath enlarged his Dominions.—Penned by Sir A. Sherley, and recommended to his Brother, Sir Robert Sherley, being now in Prosecution of the like honorable Imployment.—London: Printed for Nathaniel Butter, and Joseph Bagfet. 1613."

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myself to make perfect, correcting my own oversights by the most virtuous examples I could make choice of: amongst which, as there was not a subject of more worthiness and virtue, for such examples to grow from, than the ever-living in honour and condign estimation, the Earl of Essex, as my reverence and regard to his rare qualities was exceeding; so I desired (as much as my humility might answer, with such an eminency) to make him the pattern of my civil life, and from him to draw a worthy model of all my actions. And as my true love to him did transform me from my many imperfections, to be, as it were, an imitator of his virtues; so his affection was such to me, that he was not only contented I should do so, but in the true nobleness of his mind gave me liberally the best treasure of his mind in counselling me; his fortune to help me forward; and his very care to bear me up in all those courses, which might give honour to myself and inworthy the name of his friend."

Sir Anthony first embarked in the wars in the Low Countries, where he had a command, and was present at the battle of Zutphen in 1586. He appears also to have been engaged in the war in France, and probably accompanied the Earl of Essex when he was sent with a body of four thousand men to the assistance of the King of France

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against the Confederates of the League. As a reward for his services, Henry the Fourth bestowed the order of St. Michael upon him, to the great displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, who said, that as a virtuous woman ought to look on none but her husband, so a subject ought not to cast his eyes on any other sovereign than him God had set over him. "I will not," said she, "have my sheep marked with a strange brand; nor suffer them to follow the pipe of a strange shepherd*." She immediately commanded Sir John Puckering and Lord Buckhurst to inquire into the circumstances of the alleged breach of allegiance, who made the following Report on the subject:—

"Touching Sir Anthony Sherley and the Order of St. Michael:

"To our very good and honourable friend, Sir John Woolley, Knight, of her Majesty's Privy Council.

"After our very hearty commendations, according to her Majesty's commandment we have called before us Mr. Anthony Sherley; and having strictly examined him, and required him upon his allegiance truly to declare the manner of his acceptance of the

* Harris's *Life of Charles the Second.*

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order of knighthood of St. Michael, he answered, That, when the French King did offer the same unto him, he refused it, being minded never to accept thereof: and afterward the Duke of Bouillon and Monsieur De Sancy told him that, if he did not accept of the King's honourable offer, the King would take it in ill part, and to be done to his dishonour: but not being persuaded to accept thereof, he repaired to her Majesty's Ambassador, who advised him to refuse the same if he could; but if he were earnestly pressed, and could not refuse it, then to accept it without the oath, reserving always his duty and service to her Majesty: and, being afterwards earnestly pressed by the King, he did accept the said order of knighthood; and, kneeling, (his hands between the King's,) the statutes of the order being read, he took the oath, saving always his duty and allegiance to her Majesty; and made no account of the said order otherwise than to satisfy the King's pleasure therein. And being sharply reprehended by us for accepting that order, to the dividing of his service by oath given to another Prince, notwithstanding the reserving of his allegiance and duty to her Majesty, without her Highness' pleasure being first known, he saith he is heartily sorry for his offending her Majesty therein, having never any meaning to have offended her Majesty thereby. We have committed

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him close prisoner in the Fleet until her Majesty shall otherwise command. We have also called before us Sir Thomas Sherley, the father, and charged him that he hath encouraged his son herein, and hath persuaded him to take the place and precedence of other Knights. He answereth, That he hath not any ways encouraged him, but hath counselled and charged him to be very curious and circumspect in taking place to the offence of any, and is most heartily sorry that his son hath thus done, to the offence of her Majesty. Which our doings, according to our duties, we desire you to let her Majesty understand, until ourselves may wait on her Highness, to make more particular relation thereof. And so we bid you right heartily farewell, this 12th of March 1593.

"Your very loving friends,

"Jo. Puckering, C.J.

"T. Buckhurst."

This does not appear to have been satisfactory, and a further examination took place, the result of which is communicated by Mr. Carew in the succeeding letter:—

"14th of March, 1593.

"Being sent from the Lord Keeper and the Lord Buckhurst unto Mr. Sherley in the Fleet, to understand what oath he took at the receiving of the order

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of St. Michael, and the manner thereof; at the first I willed him to set down in writing as much of it as he could call to his remembrance; and thereupon he wrote a side of a leaf of paper, containing in effect these things:—

"That oath he took none, for he only made answer to the King's demands, and had no book presented him to swear by.

"That the King's demands were two. 1st; That he would promise never to bear arms against him for the service of any prince Christian, but only his sovereign, or by her commandment. 2d; That he should never spot himself with any infamy unworthy of so high an order. Both which he promised to perform.

"This, upon his life and reputation, he affirmeth to be all, being so short a matter to be remembered, that he doth assure the truth of the report thereof.

"But, supposing that so short a report would give little satisfaction; I desired him that I might set down from his mouth by my writing some more circumstances and particularities, the which he granted: and then upon my questions unto him (which I framed from a copy of the manner of receiving of that order by the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Leicester, in anno 1566, that I had of Mr. Garter, by my Lord Keeper's direction,) he answered as follows:—

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"That the King, at ten of the clock in the night, sent for him into his cabinet by le première Secretaire de Navarre; and, at his coming thither, he found with the king the L. Chancellor, who is also Chancellor of the order, the Bishop of Bourges that is Prelate of the order, Le Sieur de Beaulieu, that is Secretary of the order and of estate, Le Sieur de Sancy, Mons. Le Grand, and sundry other gentlemen, the Notary of the order, (that afterwards entered his name into the register,) and the four ushers of the same.

"That being come into that presence, the King, before them all, declared the good opinion his majesty held of him, the love he had towards him, and the good service he had done unto his highness; for requital whereof, when he came to be peaceable King of France, he should receive further recompence. In the mean time his majesty would bestow an honour upon him, by the receiving whereof, the King assured him he should be tied to use no ceremony.

"Thirdly; That the form of giving the said order was in this sort: First; his spurs and sword wer taken from about him, then he kneeled down and putting his hands within the King's, Monsr. Beaulieu, the Secretary of the order, made unto him, in the King's name, the two demands aforementioned in his own declaration. Then the King himself asked him,

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'*promettez vous cela?*' his answer was, '*oüi, Sire, je le promets.*' Then the King drew out his sword, and laid it on Mr. Sherley's shoulder, saying, '*Soyez Chevalier de St. Michael au nom de St. George, car vous l'avez bien merité.*' And whiles he was yet kneeling, the King put on his sword about him himself; but his spurs were put on by the Sieur Rocolour, *Premiere Gentlehomme de la Garderobe.* That done, the King kissed him on both his cheeks, and, at his rising again, put on about his neck the lace and collar of St. Michael that he wore himself. And these things, besides the paying of fees, were all the ceremonies.

"Fourthly; I asked him whether the book of the statutes of the order were not read unto him at the time of his creation. His answer was,—That he receiving the order in the night, because the next morning he was purposed to have gone away, by the break of day, with the convoy of the Duke Mempensier, the book containing the said Statutes being at the Chancellor's house, two leagues from Chartres, was not then sent for; but, afterwards, the Count Chiverny, the Chancellor's son, shewed it unto him, being a little book, of some twenty leaves, written in letters, wherein, to his remembrance, here is nothing contained which may not be referred to one of these two heads set down in his declaration, being for the most part matters of honour, touching the defence

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of ladies and orphans, and committing no crimes nor base acts, &c.

"Lastly; I asked him, whether he gave any instrument in writing of the acceptation of the order, because there were such given in the creation of 1566; but his answer was, that he gave none, nor that there was not any required of him, which seemeth to stand with good reason, for in the former creation being done by commission, by Mons. Rambouillet, such an acceptation in writing was requisite, but in this, being done in the King's presence, superfluous.

"This is as much as I could learn of him, and to testify the truth thereof, I have his own hand to two blotted papers, the substance of both which I have contained in this.

M. J. Puckering. "GEORGE CAREW."

His imprisonment was probably of no long duration: he was, however, deprived of the offensive order.* Sir Anthony did not remain long in a state of inactivity; he projected an expedition to the Isle of St. Thome, under the patronage of the Earl of Essex, who undertook to procure him a commission from the Queen for the purpose. There is reason to think that he was incited to this adventure by

* Sandford's Geneal. Hist.

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his domestic infelicity, as well as by a spirit of enterprize. He had married Frances, the sister of Sir Robert Vernon, of Hodnet, Knight;* but his marriage was unhappy, as appears from a letter of Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, dated the 7th November, 1595. His words are, "Sir Anthony Sherley goes forward on his voyage very well furnished, led, by the strange fortune of his marriage, to undertake any course that may occupy his mind from thinking on her vainest words."†

Sir Anthony having applied to Mr. Bacon for his interest in forwarding the commission, the latter wrote to him, on the 28th March, 1596, to return him thanks for his kindness and confidence towards him; "whom," says he, "you shall find more careful, by all true and due effects to me possible, of faithful friendship to conserve your love, than to recover my health, though it be the soul of this life." He then adds, "I have received your honourable rich token by your man, and have consigned it according to your appointment, assuring you, that the presentation of it shall be accompanied from us both with all respects correspondent to your worthy merit. I may not omit, for mine own discharge, to certify you, that this day I have remembered and

* Wood. † Sidney's Letters.

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recommended the expedition of your commission, mentioned at your departure, to my most honourable good lord, whose answer was, that he was mindful of it, and looked to hear from you about it." Sir Anthony Sherley the next day returned an answer from Southampton, that he would never fail to render to Mr. Bacon, the truest testimonies of his entire thankfulness for that gentleman's honourable kind favours, which his own fortune should be at any time able to bring forth; "which," says he, "shall be honourably given, and my life too, for to be disposed by your commandments, and my best prayers for your health, the perfect recovery of which would be more true contentment to my soul, than my life. For the token, which it hath pleased you, in the nobleness of your own mind, to persuade the acceptance of, better than in itself it was worthy, I will be ready to better by a more effectual service, if my desires may at any time find honourable means, for which I assure myself, that I shall never fail of the counsel of your judgment, which shall ever be the stern to govern all my courses. Lastly; I must also discharge myself to you of my thanks, apart, for your remembering me to my Lord of Essex, to whom I have written about that commission, which I hope and have need to receive presently. To present you with a faithful profession of my service, I should but

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revive a deed of long date, and confirm with my truest-hearted intent; only I beseech you to recommend me, where I know you will, as I will you, to all the best and worthiest fortunes, which your exceeding noble virtues may most justly claim."

Mr. Bacon having procured a commission from the Earl of Essex, sent it to Sir Anthony Sherley, but the latter, disliking it, returned it to Mr. Bacon with a letter, on the 3rd of April, in which he observed, that the confidence he had in that gentleman's judgment and love, made him send back that commission, desiring him to consider of it, and redeliver it to the giver. "For if," says he, "I desired a commission from my lord of Essex, it was to furnish me with authority to govern this heap of confused people, which I have here gathered together, that are more subject than any people to fall into extreme disorders; in which point you shall find me not at all assisted. And then, for increase of credit, which men that have commissions ordinarily assume from them, you shall find me so scanted by my title for myself, and so restrained for my friends which go with me, that, if I receive it, I must either diminish unto them the place which I have given them, or else equal others to mine, since, by my commission, I am restrained to one regiment, and I have already divided my companies into two. Sir,

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I have told you how much I have been afflicted for the opinion of my lord of Essex's coldness towards me, only for the truth of mine own zeal and affection towards him, which I do find so far from respect, that it is not only heavy to my mind, but to my fortune, which receive no manner of grace from him. I have found, since my coming, my business thwarted by the mayor, and hindered by other devices, as much as malice and such authority could. I have cried out to my lord, I have implored his letters; and I have not received one so much as unto myself, but only this poor commission, which doth but diminish the reputation of what I am. Wherefore, as I first said unto you, the assured knowledge which I have of your wisdom and affection to me, makes me bold to send it unto you, to be re-delivered to my lord of Essex, in such terms as I know you are furnished with, both fit for him and for me." In the postscript, he desires Mr. Bacon not to urge the Earl for any other commission, since he would content himself with what grace he could do himself. The same day, the Earl himself wrote the following letter to Sir Anthony Sherley, from Dover, whither his lordship had been sent by the Queen, upon the Archduke Albert's having laid siege to Calais, after a feint march to the relief of La Fere. "Cousin, the

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news of the siege of Calais hath made me be posted down to this place, whence I have sent Sir Conyers Clifford, to see whether he can go in and see the state of the town. And I have also sent a gentleman to Boulogne, to see what means they do prepare on that side to succour Calais. I do look for an answer from both places by to-morrow morning, and on Monday will return to Greenwich, from whence I will send you some money the next day. For if I had had but one hour more of stay at London, I had furnished you; but upon Wednesday you shall hear from me at the farthest. I pray you send me word, both hither and to the court, in what forwardness you are, for my stay here is uncertain. And so wishing to you as to myself, I rest your most affectionate cousin, Essex."

The zeal which Mr. Bacon had shown in Sir Anthony Sherley's business, induced Sir Thomas Sherley, his father, to write him a letter of thanks on that account, dated from Whitefriars, on the 4th of April, 1596, inclosing one from his son to himself, expressing his great obligations to Mr. Bacon, whom Sir Thomas professed to honour, and to reverence his virtues. The next day, Sir Anthony wrote another letter from Southampton to Mr. Bacon, by a gentleman, whom he sent to him about two things,

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which concerned the effecting of his business. And on the 9th of April, a commission was sent to Sir Anthony from the two generals, the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral, empowering him to levy, arm, &c. men not exceeding the number of one thousand five hundred, and appointing him captain and commander of all such ships and vessels, as were set forth, at the charge of Sir Thomas Sherley, her Majesty's treasurer at war, and Sir Anthony Sherley, in the designed expedition. Sir Anthony was still at Southampton on the 12th of April, when he wrote to Mr. Bacon, that he had heard that the Earl's great journey was shortened to Calais, and that he hoped by this means his own voyage should receive liberty to proceed; recommending to Mr. Bacon his brother Croftes, whose advancement in honour he desired as a large increase to his own fortune. "My absence," says he, "from him, from whom it should be derived, next to his own worth, makes me run to your favour, as the relieving sanctuary of all that troubles me." In the postscript, he added, that he had just received a letter from his brother Croftes, mentioning the sickness of the Lady Cheyney; on which account, he requested Mr. Bacon to strengthen that gentleman's resolution to stay with her, and to give him probable assurance by the Earl's love to her, favour to Sir Anthony, and good disposition to

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Mr. Croftes, that though the present act of honour be deferred, yet it should not fail.*

The commission being at length completed, Sir Anthony proceeded on his voyage; a brief narration of which is given in Hackluyt, in the following words.

"A true relation of the Voyage undertaken by Sir Anthony Sherley, Knt. Anno 1596, intended for the Isle of St. Tomè, but performed to St. Jago, Dominica, Margarita, along the coast of Terra Firma, &c.

"We arrived at Plymouth the 29th April, where we found the Right Honble the Earl of Essex ready for the attempt of his Cadiz action, with whom our general left three ships, and five hundred soldiers, well victualled and furnished. So, the 21st May, we departed from Plymouth with the Bevis, the Gallion, the George, the George Noble, the Wolf, and the Galley. On the 27th May, came in sight of the coast of Spain, thence passed in sight of the coast of Barbary, and came to Magasant, where the Spaniards have a garrison. Bending their course to the Canary Isles to water, the Galley lost her rudder. Having

* Birch's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 455.

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watered at the Canaries, sailed for the Cape de Verd Isles, expecting to meet the fleet of St. Tomè. While on the coast of Guinea, the water from the heavens did stink, and in six hours turned into maggots where it fell, either among our clothes or wads of oakum*. The town of St. Jago being taken by Sir Anthony Sherley, he sailed to the Isle of Fuego, a very small isle, with a very high hill in the midst, that continually burneth, invincible by nature. One night we had a shower of ashes, which fell so thick into our ships from that burning hill of Fuego, that you might write your name with your finger upon the upper deck. At Dominica Isle we found excellent hot baths, which refreshed the men; from thence sailed to Margarita, expecting to meet the pearl dredgers, but found them not. Going from thence for Cape de la Vela, the fly boat was cast away, and some of the men lost. Took Santa Martha—the Wolf again forsook us, with a small bark taken at St. Jago—and returned for England, with hard news of our ruin: but, by God's favourable help, we arrived in the road of Jamaica, 29th January, which is

* "This," says Fuller, "made him turn his course to America, where he took and kept the city of St. Jago two days and nights, with two hundred and eighty men, (whereof eighty were wounded in the service,) against three thousand Portugals!"

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dangerous to enter, by reason of shoals and rocks that lie before it. Here we landed, and marched six miles into the country, where the town standeth; the people, all on horseback, made show of great matters, but did nothing. Now being masters of the whole isle, the people submitted themselves to our general's mercy, and here they provided for us great store of dried beef and cassavi meal, a base food, yet the best that the country yieldeth. This isle is a marvellous fertile isle, and is as a garden or storehouse for divers parts of the main. It is full of plain champaign ground, which in the rest of the Indies we have not seen; it aboundeth with beeves and cassavi, besides most pleasant fruits of divers sorts: we have not found in the Indies a more pleasant and wholesome place.

The general's intention was to have gone to Newfoundland, from thence for the streights of Magellan, and so to return by the East Indies. Being athwart Havannah, all his ships forsook him, the 13th May. Our misery in the Admiral was very great, for there was not one in the ship that was ever before in the Indies; besides our miserable want of victuals, the dangers of the place, and the furious current of the channel. Notwithstanding, we were forced without stay to disembogue, which happily being performed, we shaped our course for Newfoundland, and, by

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God's mercy, we arrived there the 15th June, not having one hour's victuals to spare, and there by our countrymen we were well refreshed; where we stayed till the 24th June, still expecting the Gallion; but she not coming, and that plot overthrown, we returned for England, where we found the Right Honble the Earl of Essex bound to the seas, with whom we presently departed in his lordship's ship, to do him our humble service."*

He returned from this voyage in June, 1597, and proceeded to London, attended by a numerous train of followers. When Essex was appointed Lord Lieutenant, Sir Anthony accompanied him to Ireland,† and there, according to Wood, received the honour of knighthood from his patron.

In the winter of 1598-9, Sir Anthony, "accompanied with divers soldiers of approved valour," was sent by the Earl to assist Don Cesare D'Este, the illegitimate son of the Duke of Ferrara, then lately dead, against the Pope, who laid claim to the Principality; but, before he arrived, the submission of the Duke to the Pope had put an end to the war. "Which," says Sir Anthony, "when I had advertised the Earl of, as he, who never had his own

* Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 598.—Edit. 1600.

† Birch.

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thoughts limited within any bounds of honorable and just ambition; so he also desired, that those whom he had chosen into a nearness of affection, should also answer both his own conceit of them, and satisfy the world in his election of them: wherefore, not willing I should return, and turn such a voice as was raised of my going to nothing, as unwilling that I should, by a vain expense of my time, money and hope, be made a scorn to his and (through him) to my enemies; he proposed unto me (after a small relation, which I made unto him from Venice) the voyage of Persia, grounding of it upon two points." First; To endeavour to prevail upon the King of Persia to unite with the Christian princes against the Turks; and, secondly, To establish a commercial intercourse between this country and the East. With these grand objects, Sir Anthony mingled some private designs of his own. "Having, with these advertisements, received strength to my own mind, large means and letters of favour and credit to the company of merchants at Aleppo; without opening the secrets of my deliberation to any, as fearing the strange humour of the world rather inclined to mis-judge of all actions, than to give them only a charitable construction; not willing to be scorned if it effected not, and assuring myself of all sort of reputation if it proceeded well, I embarked

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myself at Venice for Aleppo, in a Venetian ship, called the Morizell, the four-and-twentieth of May, 1599," accompanied with twenty-five followers, most of them gentlemen.

Of this expedition, a brief account was published by William Parry, one of his followers, another by himself, a third by an anonymous author, and a fourth was written by George Manwaring, also one of his attendants. Of these works, Parry's is a very brief account, and Sir Anthony's own relation was written rather for the purpose of displaying his knowledge on the subject of government and politics, than of describing his adventures; and abounds more with pompous argumentation, and tedious ethical reflections, than with interest or amusement. Manwaring's is the most circumstantial and amusing narrative, but terminates at an earlier period than those of Parry and the anonymous author.—With Manwaring, therefore, we shall begin. The greater part of this manuscript was originally printed in the second volume of the *Retrospective Review*, and the remainder is now, for the first time, made public.

A True Discourse of Sir Anthony Sherley's Travel into Persia, what accidents did happen in the way, both going thither and returning back, with

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the business he was employed in from the Sophi: written by George Manwaring, Gent. who attended on Sir Anthony all the Journey.

The first attempt of the voyage was this, Sir Anthony, understanding of wars like to have happened between the Duke of Ferrara and the Pope, and hearing the duke to be a gallant man, and further he had notion that the duke had sent unto the French king for some good commanders, thought he could not spend his time better than to go and aid the duke with his service in the war; and, for this cause, did take his leave of England for a time. We were first embarked at a small port town in Essex, and arrived at Flushing, in the Low Countries, where, the next day, we were worthily feasted by the governor, the Lord Sidney, and likewise at Middelburg, by our English merchants; from thence we did take our journey to Douay, where Count Maurice did keep his court, who, in like sort, did royally entertain us, giving us a warrant to take Sir Nicholas Parker's troop of horse, who then did lie at Doesburg, which troop of horse did convoy us through the enemies' country to Cologne, and then left us; from Cologne we took waggon and horses to Nuremburg, in Germany, and from Nuremburg to Augusta, where we had news that the Duke of

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Ferrara had submitted himself to the Pope, and the wars were ended: yet Sir Anthony did encourage us with comfortable words, assuring us, that if we would follow him, and arm ourselves to take the adventure which he did purpose, we should all gain honour, and greatly enrich ourselves. From Augusta we took post horses to Venice, where we did solace ourselves almost three months, in which time Sir Anthony did send his brother, Mr. Robert Sherley, of some business to the Duke of Florence, who used him very honourably, giving him a chain of gold, valued to the worth of sixteen hundred French crowns; and in that time we lay in Venice, Sir Anthony did fall in some conversation with a Persian merchant, which did traffic in Venice for the King of Persia, for such commodities as were wanting in his own country, which was English cloth, both woollen and linen. This merchant told Sir Anthony of the royalty of the Sophi, his king, which pleased Sir Anthony very well; yet not resolved to go thither, but to take his voyage another way: but, in the same city of Venice, it was his fortune to hear of a great traveller, newly come to Venice from the Sophi's court, whose name was Angelo, born in Turkey, but a good Christian, who had travelled sixteen years, and did speak twenty-four kind of languages. This Angelo did likewise acquaint Sir Anthony of the

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worthiness of the King of Persia, that he was a gallant soldier, very bountiful to strangers, and what entertainment he had at his court; assuring Sir Anthony, that, if he would go thither, it would be greatly for his advancement; and moreover, that he would be his guide, and attend on him thither, which Sir Anthony did consent unto, yet kept it very close, for fear it should be known in Turkey, because we must pass through that country, and the great Turk and the King of Persia being not great friends, but only for a league for three years, which was all expired.

So we left Venice, and went to Malamoco, some five miles from Venice, where we found divers ships: amongst the rest, there was an argosy bound for Scanderoon, where we did embark ourselves, paying a large price for our passage, but the wind was contrary, that we were twenty-four days in sailing to Zante, which was not half the way; where, if the wind had served us, we might have been at Scanderoon in that time. But, in the way, before we came to Zante, there was a passenger in the ship, which used some disgraceful words against our late queen; whereupon, Sir Anthony caused one of his meanest sort of men to give him the bastinado, which he did very soundly: whereupon, he made such a terrible cry, that the captain of the ship, with the passengers and the seafaring men, rose up in arms against us,

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they being to the number of two hundred and fifty, and all our company not above twenty-six; yet we did withstand, neither was there any hurt done, by reason of three Armenian merchants, which did stand between us, and entreated a peace, which the Italians did first consent unto: in the end, we arrived at Zante, where Sir Anthony and all we of his company went ashore for victuals, in regard all our provision was spent. When we were departed forth of the ship, they sent after us those things we had left behind, and mounted their ordnance against us, swearing, if we did offer to come aboard the ship any more, they would sink us. Whereupon, Sir Anthony complained to the governor of the place, but could have no remedy; so we lost our passage, and were constrained to stay in Zante ten days for shipping, with great hindrance to our voyage and expenses, but that the English merchants did use us somewhat kindly. This Zante is an island belonging to the Venetians; the city is situated on the side of a hill, extremely hot; the land yieldeth great store of currants; the people are Greek for the most part, with some Italians, Venetians, and likewise Jews; it is a place well known to our English merchants, therefore I need not write any more of it. So, after we had passed away the time for ten days' space, we embarked in a small ship, and so took our leaves of

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Zante, where, the next day after, we being not well stored with fresh water, we did put into an island, to fill our vessels with water, because, in the island of Zante, water was very scarce. I will show you a reason why:—one day, being in Zante, I was extreme dry, and, being in a merchant's house, I desired a cup of water to drink of one of his servants; the merchant hearing me, told me I should drink wine so much as I would, for his water was dearer unto him than his wine; I thought it a very strange thing.

Well, now to the island, where we went for fresh water, a place worth the noting. It is a small thing, but a very pleasant little village, not plentiful for corn, yet very fruitful of all things else, as apricots, oranges, lemons, pomgranates, grapes of all sorts, with many other fruits; there is but an only castle in the island, which is inhabited with no other kind of men but priests and friars, all Greeks: they did entertain us lovingly, giving us of their fruits, for the which we did proffer them money, but they would not take any: in all our travels, I did not see a more pleasanter place, for I could have found in my heart to have lived there always; it is called by the name of the island of Priests. From thence we departed and sailed towards the Isle of Candia, where, within three days, we were in the harbour, having no business there, but only to see the place. We

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went all ashore, not thinking to stay any longer than one night; but our ship had a mischance, for we had not been out of her two hours, but one of the gallies of Candia coming from the sea, in a rough wind, did run herself against the rudder of our ship, and took it clean away; besides that, she was bulged in two places, which caused us to stay there nine days, before she could be made ready. There we were royally used, but especially by one of the governors, which was a Greek, for there are two governors, the one a Greek, the other an Italian. The city of Candia is a town of garrison, which hath to the number of one thousand five hundred soldiers continually there; this governor, being a Greek, caused four proclamations to be made, which was, that we should have free liberty, both day and night, to pass quietly by their court of guard and sentinels, without any let, which was a very great favour: we were kindly used amongst the citizens, but especially by the gentlewomen, who oftentimes did make us banquets in their gardens, with music and dancing. They may well be called merry Greeks, for in the evenings, commonly after they leave work, they will dance up and down the streets, both men and women. There doth stand to this hour, about half a mile from the city, the chapel which Saint Paul did preach in, and

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it is called to this hour Saint Paul's chapel, being held in great reverence among the Greeks.

From Candia we sailed to Cyprus, a most ruinated place, now under the Turk's government; there we staid not past two hours, in which time the governor of that place, being a Turk, came aboard our ship, and brought us wine and other fruits; he used us very kindly, which made us think all Turks were of his condition, but we found it to the contrary. From Cyprus we sailed to Tripoli, where we landed, and left our ship, for we hired it no further: being in the harbour, we found the argosy which brought us from Venice to Zante, who so soon as they did know us, the captain and master went presently to the governor, and told him that we were banditti or thieves at sea, and did counsel the governor to hang us all, which he consented unto. Sir Anthony having some notice of it, by a Greek which served in the argosy, presently sent Angelo, his guide, unto the governor, to tell him that we were Englishmen going to Constantinople, to the Great Turk's court; which message would not be heard, in regard the Venetians did labour so much against us. The governor kept Angelo with him, fast bound in chains, and sent a captain for us, with three soldiers, which they do call janisaries; they came in a boat, called a frigate, and when they were come close

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to the side of our ship, the captain came aboard us, commanding the janisaries to remain still in the frigate: there he was talking with Sir Anthony an hour; in which time, the Armenian merchants, that were in the argosy, went to the governor, and persuaded him to take a ransom for us, and so let us go, which he did, to Sir Anthony's great cost, and sent Angelo to us again: but there we were driven to some extremity, in regard we could not get shipping, which constrained us to embark ourselves in a small fisher boat for Scanderoon, but were forced unto the sea, where, by reason of a tempest and contrary wind together, we were tost up and down six days, having no victuals, but a little fresh water and some tobacco. In the end, we descried land, and the wind serving us for that place, we took our adventure thither, and, when we came within perfect view of that place, the master of the boat told us we were hard by the river Orontes, and, if it pleased Sir Anthony, we might go up that river, and so land ourselves in the Holy Land, which Sir Anthony was very desirous of; and so the seventh day we landed, being almost all of us spent for want of victuals.

Of our usage in Turkey, and the dangerous attempts we had from the Turks.

After we were landed from the river Orontes, An-

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gelo, our guide, went up into the country, some two miles, to provide us with victuals and other provision. At the same town did inhabit a Spahi, which was one of the Great Turk's soldiers, and had the command of that place under the Turk, for those which serve on horseback are commonly called Spahis, or chorses. This Spahi came to us, with certain Janisaries and others, which, at the first, did use us kindly, but in the end they altered their kindness, using reproachful words unto us, then offering to take from us some commodities, giving blows to some of us, which we durst not resist, but to endure them with patience; because they have a law in Turkey, that if a Christian do strike a Turk, he must either turn Turk, or lose his right arm, which law did cause us to endure many stripes with patience: well, these fellows could not content themselves with striking of us, nor in taking away some of our commodities from us, but they would needs have a boy from us, which was Sir Anthony's page; whereupon Sir Anthony vowed before he would lose him or any of his company, in that sort, he would first lose his own life: but, in the end, because we would be quit of uncivil Pagans, they were content to take twelve pieces of gold, which be called in Venice chiqeens, and so they let us go. From thence we took our journey to Antioch, which is two days' journey and

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a half from Orontes, riding and carrying of our luggage upon camels and asses, which, by great fortune, we had hired of the Turks. When we came to Antioch, we lodged at a house where two Janisaries did dwell; they were Hungarians born, being both brothers, and were turned Turks; they used us more kindly than the rest, and bearing some command of the place, they gave us free leave to walk up and down the town, sending one of the men with us, to keep us from hurt. Antioch is situate on the side of a hill; it is very much decayed and ruinated, only the walls stand firm to this hour. There lieth St. Lawrence, who was brought from Come to that place to be buried there. The Christians, which live and inhabit in the Turk's dominion, do pay a tribute yearly to the Turk, to have a lamp burn over his sepulchre always. From Antioch, after three days being there, we hired camels and asses in a convoy, to bring us to Aleppo, because we had notice that, in the way did lie some two hundred banditti or runagates. It is six days' journey from Antioch to Aleppo: after we had passed two days' journey, the captain of our convoy told Sir Anthony, that we must hire sixteen men more forth of a village where we passed, because he did fear the next day we should meet with those banditti. Sir Anthony demanded what he must have to give them; he said,

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no less than six crowns; when he had received the money he went into the town, and returned again in half an hour, bringing with him only one man. Sir Anthony asking him where those men were, "Why," quoth the Turk, "here they be all in this one; for this man hath fought with sixteen men, all at one time, and hath given them the overthrow; therefore, ever since he hath had sixteen men's payment." Sir Anthony, being a little moved to see their base fashions, answered, that he had of his own company, which would make a boy of a far better man than he was: yet, arming himself with patience, was contented to let his man depart from him in that sort, for fear of worse inconvenience. At the sixth days' end, we came safe to Aleppo, where we were kindly received by one Mr. Colthurst, then being consul for the English merchants, and also of the merchants themselves, who lodged us in their houses, and furnished us with such things as we did want; but the Turks did use us somewhat ill, for we could not walk in the streets but they would buffet us, and use us very vilely, except we had a Janisary with us; for it is the fashion there, that all strangers have commonly a Janisary in their house with them for their safety. One day it was my hap to walk alone in the streets, where, to my hard fortune, I met with a Turk, a gallant man *be*

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seemed to be by his habit, and saluting me in this manner;—took me fast by one of the ears with his hand, and so did lead me up and down the streets; and if I did chance to look sour upon him, he would give me such a ring, that I did think verily he would have pulled off my ear, and this he continued with me for the space of one hour, with much company following me, some throwing stones at me, and some spitting on me; so, at the last, he let me go, and because I would not laugh at my departure from him, he gave me such a blow with a staff, that did strike me to the ground. So, returning home to the Consul's house, the Consul's Janisary seeing me all bloody, asked me how I came hurt; I told him the manner of it: he presently, in a rage did take his staff in his hand, and bade me go with him, and shew him the Turk that had used me so. In a small time we found him sitting with his father and other gentlemen; so I did shew the Janisary which was he; who ran fiercely to him, and threw him on his back, giving him twenty blows on his legs and his feet, so that he was not able to go or stand: he was clothed in a cloth of gold undercoat, and a crimson velvet gown, but his gay clothes could not save him from the fierceness of the Janisary's fury; and in this way our men were served divers times.

I will write something of the fashions of the

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Turks, although it be known usually to our merchants, yet it is not commonly known to all men: first, concerning the liberty and freedom the Great Turk doth give his soldiers, called Janisaries, which is,—they have free liberty to take victuals for themselves or their horses, without paying ever a penny for it, in what town soever they come into, under the Turkish government; and if they will not serve them to their content, they will beat them like dogs; which, if they chance to resist, then do they forfeit all their goods to the Great Turk. In my being in Turkey, I will shew you a pitiful example committed by the Janisaries, which was thus:—Six of them travelling through the country, came to a town, and began to use themselves in a most vile fashion with the women; the men of the town seeing their abuses, did withstand them, so that, in the end, one of the Janisaries was slain, the other five left the town presently, and came to Aleppo, being but twenty miles from the place; and told the Janisaries of the castle what had happened, there living always in the castle three hundred. The next day, there went forth of the castle two hundred of them, to the town where the Janisary was slain, and coming thither, they did kill man, woman, and child; pulling down their houses, and carrying away the spoil of all their goods. The town I saw myself within eight days after this happened; where I did behold a pitiful sight.

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There doth inhabit, amongst the Turks, many Christians, which the Turks do prey upon, in a most inhuman manner; for, if a Christian, or a Jew, walking in the way, chance but to take a stone in his hand and throw it from him, if there be ever a Turk in sight, although he be a good distance from him, he will presently accuse him, and will swear he did throw the stone at him; and so, as they call it in their country, make avenge upon him; then must he either turn Turk or forfeit all his goods; the one half to the Great Turk, the other to the accuser. They will also, in the night time, in their cities, where many Christians do inhabit, if they think them to be rich, [do thus]—you shall have two or three Turks take a Jew and kill him, and leave him lying at the door of a Christian's house, and there watch until it be day; then will they call an officer, and shew him the spectacle, and swear they saw the Christian kill him; so they will make an avenge on him, as they call it; then must he either turn Turk or be hanged, and lose all his goods and money: and such like tricks do they use to plague the Christians with. As for their churches, they be very fair, and have high steeples, but no bells in them; but four times in the day they have a man that goeth up into the top of the steeple, and singeth out with a loud voice, that you may hear him all the town over, and biddeth

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them remember Mahomet's laws, which he left them. They have in their churchyards, for the most part, a fountain of water, covered over the head with a little house, which hath a partition, the one half for men, the other for the women; where they use, before they go to church to their prayer, both men and women, to wash the crowns of their heads, and hands and arms up to their elbows, and their feet and their privy members. They have Mahomet's laws writ in great rolls of parchment, which their priests do carry two or three days in the week through their streets, and one carrying a bason before them, where the people will throw money into it; which money, as they say, doth repair their churches, and buy oil for their lamps. Their sabbath is on Friday, which in times past they had lost, and finding it out again, do usually, on the Thursday night, hang lamps round about their steeples, to put people in remembrance of their sabbath, that they might not lose it again. They have a certain kind of drink which they call coffee, it is made of an Italian seed; they drink it extreme hot; it is nothing toothsome, nor hath any good smell, but it is very wholesome. As in England we use to go to the tavern, to pass away the time in friendly meetting, so they have very fair houses, where this coffee is sold; thither gentlemen and gallants resort

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daily, where the owners of these houses do keep young boys: in some houses they have a dozen, some more, some less, they keep them very gallant in apparel; these boys are called Bardashes; which they do use in their beastly manner, instead of women, for all the summer time they keep their women very close in their houses, and have the use of boys. You shall also see Christians sold in their markets, both men, and women, and children, like as they were sheep or beasts; which did grieve me very much. There is also, to this hour, of the kindred of Mahomet, and these hold in great reverence among them; for, one of their words goes as far as seven other mens' words will go; you may easily know them, for they go always in green turbans.

There was also, in Aleppo, at our being there, a Turk, a very fat man, and exceeding short, who did always sit naked in a corner of the street, with a little iron spit in his hand, which they did hold for a great prophet; and great resort of people came to him every day, but especially women; and they did hold such an opinion of him, that whosoever he did kill with that spit, they were sure to be saved; for in the short time of our being there, he had killed three of them.

The country of Turkey is nothing populous, except it be in their great towns; for a man may tra-

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vel three or four days together, and neither see house nor town: moreover, it is exceeding barren. We did admire how the Great Turk could bring so many soldiers into the field, considering how barely the country is inhabited:—and so much for our usage, and the fashion of the Turks.

Of our Journey from Aleppo, through the Arabian Desert, and so into Persia.

After we had spent our time in Aleppo with the English merchants, for the space of five weeks, Sir Anthony did furnish himself with some kind of merchandize, as pieces of cloth of gold, and twelve cups of emeralds and jewels of great worth; which cups and jewels he thought to have presented to the Sophi of Persia, but that ill fortune did cross him by the way. Well, from Aleppo we hired camels, asses, mules, and horses, to bring us to a place called by the Turks, Beere, or otherwise Bersada, accompanied with a Turk called a Cady, who went of an embassage from the Great Turk to the Bashaw or Viceroy of Bagdat, otherwise called Babylon: and four of the English merchants did go with us from Aleppo to Beere, which was four days' journey. When we came to Beere, there, after five or six days, with some trouble unto us, we were embarked in a boat upon the famous river Euphrates, with eleven

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boats more of Turks, who went with merchandizes to Babylon. After we had gone down the river two days' sail, we came by a place where there was a great heap of stones, and that place the Jews, which were in our company, did tell us was the place where Abraham did pitch his tents, and there did they do reverence unto it. We did commonly see, every morning, great lions come down to the river side to drink; and the wild Arabians would follow us most part of the day, on the top of the hills by the river side, to the number sometimes of one hundred, and sometimes two hundred, with slings, slinging stones at us; but they did small hurt unto us, in regard of our shot, although it was some trouble to us. So, passing along the river, we came to a town called Anna, which was governed by the Turks, but inhabited by many Arabians; and about two miles from the town, by the river side, the King of Arabia had pitched his tents; for, as we were told, he had made a vow never to come into house, till he could conquer all his country from the Turks. So, coming close to the town with our boats, as it was our order in all our boats, when we came by a place of note, to give a volley of shot; and doing the like at that place, one of the Turks had charged his piece with a bullet, which bullet did kill one of the King's guard, being walking along the side of the river,

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accompanied with some fifty more of his fellows; who, seeing their fellow slain suddenly, did draw their swords in a rage, not knowing who to take revenge upon; but the Turk that killed him, standing up, cried with a loud voice, saying it was one of the Christians killed him; whereupon they came all towards our boat, swearing they would kill us every man; but God provided for us, for there was a Turk of Mahomet's kindred in the boat with him that killed the man, who, presently leapt into the water, saying to the guard, there is the man that killed your fellow, for I saw him put the bullet into his piece; which caused them to make a stand, and did us no harm: but, on the sudden they all ran fiercely upon him, and cut him in a hundred pieces, taking the pieces and throwing them up and down. This news came presently to the King, who sent a strait command for all the boats to come down to the place where his tents were pitched; which we did immediately; and, at our arrival there, the King sent a company of his unto us, which did take away the oars of our boats, commanding the chief of the company to come before him, which they did. Sir Anthony went first, attended with three other gentlemen that were with him, and myself. This I may boldly speak of; at the first entry into his tent, it was full a quarter of an English mile before we

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came to the King's presence, which was guarded on either side with shot and pikes. So, when we came before him, he did stand up, taking Sir Anthony by the hand; Sir Anthony offering to kiss his hand, but he would not suffer him, but we did. Then he demanded of Sir Anthony what he was? he told him the truth of all our voyage, which the King did greatly commend; and caused a banquet to be brought of such fruits as the country did afford. There is small store of bread in the country, but they live commonly on musk melons, radishes, and rice. Their apparel is very slender; for, they wear commonly one robe, made like a surplice, with great sleeves of a kind of blue cloth, made of bumbaso; their sleeves they tie on their back by one corner of the sleeve, and leave all their arms naked. About their middle they wear a girdle made of a horse-hide, some five fingers broad, and a dagger sticking under their girdles with a wooden haft. They wear over their heads a cap of felt, made like unto a morion or head-piece, tied under their chin with a black kind of stuff like a cipress.

The King himself was in this sort attired, save only he had a satin coat without sleeves; he was a man of a goodly personage, exceeding black, and very grim of visage; his Queen was a blackamoor; his company that followed him, was to the

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number of twenty thousand men; he had about ten thousand camels to attend him. In the summer time he did abide always by the river Euphrates, and, in the winter, up in the desert. When Sir Anthony saw the manner of his apparel, he sent for a piece of cloth of gold which he had in the boat, and did present it unto the King, to make himself an upper coat, which the King esteemed highly of, and gave him great thanks for it; giving him a passport, under his own hand, to pass quietly through his dominions without any further let; which passport did us great good in our passage; but the Turks he made pay soundly for the death of his servant. So, after one day and a night, we departed, and came, in a few days after to a place worth the noting, which did burn with brimstone and pitch, making such a smoke that it did darken the place extremely; the pitch rising up in great flakes as big as a house, making a terrible noise, and that place the Jews did tell us was Sodom and Gomorra, but called by the Turks, 'Hell's mouth.' From thence we passed a fair town, called Racca, a very ancient place, inhabited by Turks and Arabians. The river Euphrates doth run through it. They have neither bridge nor boat to pass from the one town to the other, but the skins of goats blown like a bladder, and so they cast themselves upon them, and swim over. You shall see

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them pass to and fro, as thick as boats upon the Thames. From thence we passed to Feleugo; which place is in the suburbs of old Babylon, and there we left our boats, and hired camels and asses to carry us to the city of Babylon that now is, which was a day and a night's journey from that place; but before we came to Babylon, the Cady, that went of the embassage from the Turk to the Viceroy of Babylon, told Sir Anthony that his goods would be searched, and, as he did fear, would be taken from him; and did counsel him this, to deliver some of his goods to him, and he would safely keep them for him, and deliver them to him at his departure from Babylon, which he did very honestly perform. Sir Anthony did according to his advice, giving him some of his jewels and other commodities; but his cups of emeralds he reserved for the Viceroy of Babylon; but before we came into the city we were searched, and all our goods taken from us, to the worth of six thousand crowns, and we never saw them again. Had not we delivered that commodity to the Embassador, we had been left naked to the world.

I will speak somewhat of Babylon, because it is not commonly known to the Englishmen. The tower that Nimrod builded, standeth some part of it still; it is of a great height; a days' journey or more

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from the city of Babylon that now is: it standeth in a wilderness, and so many wild beasts be about it, that a man cannot come near by two miles or more; but it may be seen plainly. There is another tower which standeth within less than a quarter of a mile of the city, and that they call Nebuchadnezzar's tower, or the false tower. The river Tigris runneth through the city, which is the swiftest river in the world; and they have a bridge made over it with great boats, and planks of wood laid overthwart the boats. It is a place of great traffick with merchants forth of the East Indies, Armenians, Persians, Turks, and Venetians, and many Jews. There is also the saying of the Psalm performed; that "Babylon should to the dust be brought," for the city that now is, and also the old, is so endued with store of sand, that a man can hardly travel; for in some places it is so deep as the middle of a man's leg. It is very well furnished with victuals, and very cheap; which did make us wonder to see it, in regard the country is so barren. They have little store of rain, but this device they have to water their fields of corn, as I myself did see it, both in the river Euphrates, also upon the river Tigris: they have four bulls yoked together, and a device with a wheel set hard to the river side, with two great ropes; and, at the end of either rope, two long buckets made of the

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hide of a buffalo, and as the one cometh up the other goeth down, which bringeth up the water, that runneth in little trenches, and watereth the ground, in some places ten miles, some more, some less: it is a very rare device to them that see it.

The ruins of Babylon are to be seen to this hour; for I myself did tell nine gates, as I did travel through it, with many vaults in the ground, and the foundations of houses. The inhabitants of Babylon are Turks, Arabians, Armenians, and Jews.

But now I will come again to the goods which were taken away from Sir Anthony. As soon as they were seized upon, they were brought to the Bashaw, who liked so well of the emerald cups, that he kept them for his own use, not giving Sir Anthony one penny for them, but sent for him; and when Sir Anthony came before him, the Bashaw did look for great reverence to be done him; but Sir Anthony carrying a gallant mind, as he ever did, would not do any obedience unto him; for, at the entrance into his presence, being bravely attended upon with noblemen, Sir Anthony came boldly in, and did not so much as once bow himself; but did sit down by him without any entreating. Whereupon the Viceroy, looking very grim upon him, told him he should be sent in chains to Constantinople to the

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Great Turk; and all his company should have their heads cut off, and set upon the gates of Babylon. "Then," replied Sir Anthony, "that as for his own life he did not respect it, but for his followers;" and he desired to endure any torments himself, so that his company might pass quietly without hurt; so that, for that time, he let him depart for his lodging.

There was an Armenian, a Christian born, who did attend on the Bashaw, whom he loved dearly; his name was Margevelo: this Christian did labour very much in Sir Anthony's behalf; which, in the end, he obtained, and got him his liberty to depart quietly, but could not get him his goods again, but made means to help Sir Anthony to eight hundred crowns, of some Venetian merchants,* which were

* Sherley's own account of this occurrence, which is invested with the same strange and romantic interest as the rest of his adventures, is very different from that of Manwaring; who, it appears, was ignorant of the real circumstances attending it. Sherley, in order to avoid suspicion, had represented himself to be a merchant, who expected goods by the next caravan; but the number of his followers made a contrary impression, and he was closely watched. A Florentine merchant, of the name of Victorio Spiciera, who had travelled with Sherley from Aleppo, struck with his demeanor, took several opportunities to represent his danger to him; Sherley conceiving him to be a spy, who wished to penetrate into the motive and objects of his journey, for some time disregarded his suggestions; but was at length convinced of his kind intention. Spiciera appointed a meeting with

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there. So, after we had staid there a month, there was a caravan of Persian merchants taking their

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him about the time a caravan was to depart from Persia, and, proceeds Sir Anthony, "When I came there, he brought me to a Vittorin, of whom he had already hired horses, camels, and mules for me; and I found a tent pitched by his servants: and then opening his gown, he delivered me a bag of chickeens, with these very words:—'The God of Heaven bless you, and your whole company, and your enterprize, which I will no farther desire to know, than in my hope, which persuadeth me, that it is good; myself am going to China, whence, if I return, I shall little need the repayment of this courtesy, which I have done you with a most free heart; if I die by the way, I shall less need it: but if it please God so to direct both our safeties with good providence, that we may meet again, I assure myself, that you will remember me to be your friend; which is enough, for all that I can say to a man of your sort.' And almost, without giving me leisure to yield him condign thanks (if any thanks could be condign,) for so great and so noble a benefit, he departed from me; and as I heard afterwards from him by letters from Ormus, he received much trouble after my departure, through his honorable desire to perfect the kindness which he had begun. For imagining, that by the continual spies which clave to my house, that my flight could not be secret, he had no sooner left me in the caravan, but that he changed his lodging to mine, saying, that I had done the like to his; and went to the Cady, telling him, that I was sick; desiring his physician to visit me, knowing well enough that the Cady had none, but only to give colour to my not appearing in the town: the Cady answered, he was sorry for my sickness, and would send to the Bassa for his physician, which Signior Victorio Spiciera (for so this honorable Florentine was called) would by no means; hoping, as he said, that my sickness would not be so great as would require the trouble of his high-

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journey towards Persia, who were very glad of our company. For you must understand that the merchants do travel in those parts exceeding strong, to the number of two thousand, sometimes more; because there are many thieves who lie in the way very strong; and the company of merchants is called by the name of a caravan.

But, concerning our usage in Babylon, among the citizens, it was far better than in other places; for there we did pass very quietly up and down, without any disturbance; but were very kindly used of all men, the viceroy excepted: so in the end we did take our leave of Babylon, and being departed not above five or six miles, this Armenian,

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ness." By this means, five days passed before Sir Anthony was missed; the Janisaries, who were out after him, thinking that the caravan had passed, returned; and the noble minded Florentine was forced to pay five hundred crowns, to make his peace with the Bassa.

"The precise sum," says Sherley, "which I received of the Florentine, I set not down, to prevent the scandals of divers, who, measuring every man's mind by the straightness of theirs, will believe no act which doth not symbolize with themselves; but so much it was, that being thirty days upon the way to the confines, then fifteen from the confines to Casbin, where we attended one month the king's arrival, it was not only sufficient to give us abundant means for that time, but to clothe us all in rich apparel, fit to present ourselves before the presence of any prince, and to spend extraordinarily in gifts."

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that shewed Sir Anthony such kindness, sent him a very gallant Arabian horse, with a velvet saddle. I cannot express that great love which he shewed unto us; but mark the event; for when we had travelled some days' journey or more from Babylon, there came a post from the Great Turk to the Bashaw, which was that he should send us with all speed to Constantinople. When he had this intelligence, he commanded presently two hundred horse to be sent after us: this Armenian hearing of it, came to the captain that had the commanding of these horse, and gave him a hundred ducats to lead his troop of horse another way, and see to miss us, which he did—yet one night, as we had intelligence, he quartered within less than three miles of us; but the next morning he returned, and for his welcome to Babylon, lost his head; but the Armenian did escape that danger, and lives still in the Bashaw's favour, and was highly commended of him, that he did stand so firmly to them of his own faith. So we held on our journey, and came in a few days to a place called by the Turks Samara; but as we were told by the Jews, that still accompanied us, it was Samaria: it is an ancient place, but much ruinated, the walls stand firm to this hour, and in the middle of the old city, the Turks and Arabians have built a little town, walled about with a mud wall, of an infinite height, that

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a man cannot see so much as a steeple in the town. There standeth also, by the old city, a tower about the height of Paul's steeple, made in the form of the tower of Babylon; the going up is so broad, as three carts may easily go, one by another. Mr. Robert Sherley and myself did go to the top of it; but before we could get thither, with the extreme heat of the sun, we were almost spent; but when we were at the top, it was far colder than it was below; there are also, about the city-gates, stags as big as oxen. There lieth buried one of their saints, to which they go on pilgrimage every year, both Persians and Turks. From thence we passed along the desert, some five or six days, until we came to a wilderness, so called, which was very thick of wood: it had a small river running through it:—there we pitched our tents, in regard of the water, for we had not any water to drink two days before: and about two miles from us were quartered some ten thousand Turks, which were marching the country, from those quarters to Hungary, as we were told. Their general, hearing of our being there, came to us; then were we greatly in doubt of our lives; but he, bearing the mind of a soldier, let us pass quietly, without any hurt. From thence, after we had rested ourselves one day and a night, we held on our journey, and came by a castle of the Turks, called Tartange. There being always in

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that castle two hundred soldiers, very well fortified with ordnance, we had no determination to stay there; but when they saw us pass by, they commanded us with two pieces of ordnance; so to avoid other danger, we stayed, and pitched our tents under the castle. The governor was very inquisitive what we were; commanding us to deliver unto him our pieces, with our shot and powder; but we told him we were merchants, travelling to Ormus; but he would hardly believe us, but commanded his soldiers to seize upon us; but they were not very forward, seeing us to stand upon our guard with our pieces charged, more willing to die, than to yield ourselves subject to such uncivil pagans; so after some words' parley, they were contented to take a small bribe of us, giving us leave to stay there all night, letting us have such commodities as they had for our money; the next morning, very early, we departed; and, in a few days after, we came to Curdia, a very thievish and brutish country. They have no houses, but live in tents and caves: they till their corn twice a year, and remove from place to place with their tents; they ride commonly upon cows and bulls, and keep their abiding, for the most part, by a little river called Hadno; their apparel is very coarse, for they wear only a shirt, and over that a rough felt coat, and on their heads a clout tied: they would come into our company some-

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times forty, sometimes more or less; and, unless we did look well unto them, they would filch and steal any thing they could lay their hands upon.

In the night-time we were compelled to keep good watch, for the evenings being somewhat dark, these people would come creeping on their bellies amongst the Persians that were in our companies, and steal their turbans from off their heads; and sometimes they would make such an alarum, as if twenty armies of men had been together. But one night among the rest, we travelling somewhat late, they fetched off three of the chiefest merchants, being straggling behind the company, but they made such a cry, that Sir Anthony caused us to make a retreat suddenly, and so we did rescue them, to the loss of most of their lives which did seize upon them, though they were very well horsed; those were the first horsemen we saw in the country. That night we quartered not far from a town, but did not know so much until the next morning, as they came down to us in multitudes, which made us betake ourselves to our arms; but, in the end, we did perceive they came without weapons, bringing bread, rice, goats, cheese, and other commodities, for which we offered them both silver and gold, but they refused it, for they had not the use of either of them, neither did they know it, but they would take old shoes, copper rings, and lit-

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tle looking glasses, which we bought for the purpose, being so advised by Angelo, our guide. There we did lie two days to rest ourselves, in regard the place was so pleasant, and the people shewing themselves so kind unto us, but the name of the place I have forgotten, because it was a place of no antiquity.

From thence we passed along through the country, finding it more easy and pleasant for our travel, than we did before, and the people more discreet and kind, which did somewhat rejoice us to see such an alteration after so great dangers we had passed before. As we passed through this country, we saw many ruinated places, which Tamberlane had conquered, as we were told, both by the Jews and the Turks, for his name is had in memory of them to this day; so we passed along some four or five days, until we came to a place worth the noting, called Hitherbagg, where there did inhabit a king, called by the name of the King of Hitherbagg. There is but one town, and it is walled round very strongly with a rock of stone, so that it is invincible: there this king doth live very gallantly, being a man of so goodly personage as we saw in all our travels: he holdeth always a league with the King of Persia, and setteth the Great Turk at defiance, for the Turks would fain conquer that place, but cannot. There we pitched our tents two days, in a pleasant valley

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under the town, accompanied with the king and his followers, who did sport with us, and did use us very kindly, suffering us to go into his town by two at a time, which was a very great favour, for he doth not use to allow any stranger to go into it. There is but only one gate to go into the town, which is no wider than one horse may pass through alone, there is also in the middle of the town a very strong castle, planted with ordnance, where the king himself doth lie. This castle doth command all round about it, that they cannot come to plant any ordnance to give battery without the loss of many thousands; for the Turk did send a great army against it; but on one day and a night service they were fain to fly away, with the loss of the better half of his men. This king did give us great encouragement, assuring us we should find the Sophi of Persia the most famous prince in the world, both for his bounty and valour, and to be a great friend to Christians; so we took our leave of him, holding on our journey, and, in a few days after, we were safely arrived in the kingdom of Persia, without the loss of one man in our company; where, upon the sudden, we found such an alteration of the country and people, that we were overcome with joy.

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Of our usage in Persia and the entertainment we had there.

After we had entered the country some two or three miles, Sir Anthony called us all together, and falling upon our knees, we gave thanks to God that we were come safely to our intended purpose, although we were sometime before past hope of our lives, but that we had so worthy a leader, which, in the greatest of our extremities, never made any show of despair, but with a gallant spirit did encourage us not to take any fear, for he would engage his life for us. The first town we came to was very strongly situated, for we could not see any house at all, but a place like unto a great mountain, whence did issue out smoke in many places, which were their houses digged underneath the mountain very strangely, to the number of some three hundred dwelling houses. The streets very fair, and as even as a table, and on the top of the mountain great holes were cut, to give light to these streets and houses; there we found great store of victuals of all sorts, and the people very courteous, and willing to do us any service. There was also a hundred soldiers lying there, for the king hath a guard round about his country, at every entrance; they be all horsemen, and go all in red, with red turbans on their heads, and red fea-

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thers, with their bows and arrows, sword and target, and their short pieces. These soldiers did use us very respectfully, and told us their king would be overcome with joy when he did hear of our coming; so, after we had rested there one day and a night, we did hold on our journey towards Casbin, a famous city, and of great antiquity. We passed by many towns, but none of any account, and the further we went, the more kinder the people were. In every village where we did lodge, the chief men would come, and present us with one commodity or other every night, and happy was he that could have the best house to lodge us: likewise, their women would come and welcome us, which we thought a great wonder, in regard we had not the speech of any woman, for a long time before.

In our way to Casbin, we did see a most miraculous piece of work, wrought by this king that now is; for in some parts of the kingdom water is very scarce, and this king with the multitude of men hath wrought a vale twenty days' journey from a river, and so hath brought water enough into the country; it was wrought so that within every three score yards it is open to the air. So, passing along the country, and being in safety, Sir Anthony sent Angelo, our guide, accompanied with an English gentleman, whose name was John Ward, some four days' jour-

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ney before us, to Casbin, in secret, to provide us of a lodging, and to attend our coming two or three miles from the city, somewhat late in the evening, and so to convey us to our lodgings, without the knowledge of the citizens, in regard we were unprovided with apparel, and other necessaries, by reason of our long travels; yet, they could not so secretly work their intended purposes, but it was made known, both to the Lord Steward of the king's house, and also to the Governor of the city, who sent for them both, to know what he was that was coming to see their king. They told them the truth, but did not acquaint them the certain day of our coming, which made both them and the citizens greatly discontented, in regard they made great preparation to receive us with great triumphs; but, according to our intention, we came in by night, and so did disappoint them. The next day the Lord Steward came to our house, with a great train following him of gallant gentlemen, and did salute Sir Anthony in this sort:—*In my King's behalf, who now is in the Tartarian wars, this small kindness I would intreat you accept, in regard to your long and weary travels; and that you being strangers here in our country, it may be your supplies cannot be so suddenly accomplished, therefore I would request you to pardon me, if I do amiss in my offer;* and, laying twenty pounds in gold

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at Sir Anthony's feet, told him, *this much you shall receive every day for your provision besides other commodities; this do I of myself, until we hear from our King; who, I am sure, will treble it at his return.* Sir Anthony, according to his princely mind, turning the money over with his foot, returned this answer: *Know this, brave Persian, I come not a begging to the King, but hearing of his great fame and worthiness, thought I could not spend my time better than come to see him, and kiss his hand, with the adventure of my body to second him in his princely wars.* The Persian, hearing this answer, stept back very suddenly, and, making a low congè, replied thus,— *Pardon me, brave stranger, for now I see thou art a Prince thyself, for so it seemeth by thy princely answer.* Sir Anthony, replying, said, *No, I am the second son to an English knight, but I have been trained up in martial affairs, and well esteemed of in my prince's court, and for this cause do I come to do thy King the best office I can, if it please his Highness to accept of me. I know my King,* said the Persian, *will highly esteem of thy coming, and think himself a happy man to receive so worthy a person into his court;* and so saluting all one after another, did take his leave. So soon as he was gone, the governor of the city came with a gallant train of gentlemen very well horsed to attend him, being a man of a gallant personage,

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well spoken, and of good carriage; and gave Sir Anthony and all of us a very kind welcome, offering Sir Anthony all that he was worth to be at his service. He thanked him very kindly, but told him he did hope to have no such occasion to use his offer; so for that time he took his leave of us; and that night the Lord Steward and Governor did send such a variety of presents to Sir Anthony, that it did make us wonder at it, and so they did every day, for they two did strive who should use us best. So after some five or six days' rest we were furnished with apparel and horses; and then the Lord Steward did invite Sir Anthony and all we of his company to a great banquet at the King's palace, which Sir Anthony did not refuse; when the Lord Steward did royally receive us, meeting us half the way, attended with forty gentlemen very well horsed; so coming to the palace we did behold there a sumptuous spectacle, which was the palace gate being curiously set, wrought and garnished with rich stones very bright, the like I think the world cannot afford. The going up unto the gate was seven steps, about some half dozen yards broad, of a very strong kind of stone; so when we were alighted from our horses, and come near unto the gate, the Lord Steward told Sir Anthony that it was the fashion that those that did enter into the gate, must kiss the first step, and especially

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strangers, but you shall be privileged to do as it shall please you. Sir Anthony replied, in honour of the Sophi thy king, I will do this; and so he made a low obeisance, and in the like sort did Mr. Robert Sherley his brother, but all we did kiss the step, which did greatly rejoice the Lord Steward and his company. So into the house we came, which was richly hanged in every room with gold carpets, and under foot with rich arras; but to tell the several sorts of dishes we had there I cannot express, and every dish trimmed with rice, coloured of all kind of colours. We had also the king's music to attend us, both there and home or where we would command them. There was also at that feast ten women very gallantly apparelled, and very beautiful, who did dance according to their country manner, and sing all the time we were feasting. There we spent that day, and at our return to our house we were guarded very royally with all the citizens of worth, with the sound both of drum and trumpet. And in the like sort did the Governor feast us, and all men were willing to show us any pleasure we would. In the end there came a post from the King, forth of Tartaria, with a proclamation written with the King's own hand, which proclamation was proclaimed by a nobleman in Casbin, and we were all sent for to hear it; this was the effect of it, that we should com-

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mand horse and man to be at our service, upon pain of death to those that should not obey; moreover, if any man did hold up his hand to offer the worst in our company wrong, he should lose his head; which proclamation the citizens did all embrace very willingly, and thus I leave awhile to treat of our entertainment. Now will I speak of by what means this King came to his crown; and then will I shew you the manner of his coming from the wars, and the entertainment he gave us.

You shall understand that they have a law or custom in Persia, when the King doth die, the eldest son that is to succeed his father doth put out the eyes of his brethren, be they never so many of them, for fear they should win any favour in the country and so commit rebellion. This king that now doth reign in Persia, whose name is Shah Abbas, that is King Abbas, for this word Shah is the Persian word for a king, he was the second, who, when he heard his father was dead, presently fled from the country into Curdia, and sometimes he lived on the frontiers or borders of Persia, having to the number of one thousand men with him. His eldest brother being crowned king, sent many flattering letters unto him, that if he would come and submit himself unto him he should live and enjoy his eyesight, and that he should have great command in the country; but

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he would not trust the King, but did continue his course as he did before, and his company increased daily. There was also a nobleman which was very near unto the King, who sent a letter privately unto this King Abbas, that if he would give him such a dukedom, which was the greatest command in all the kingdom of Persia, that then he would cause the King his brother to be put to death, and that he should be made King; whereupon he returned this answer, which was, that if he would be the death of so loving a master as the King his brother was to him, he could be well contented to lose his brother to succeed him in the kingdom, and that he should be made for his labour the greatest duke in Persia; and so he did sign his letter with his blood, for that is the fashion when they do engage themselves one to the other. This nobleman received this letter with great joy, and did put in practice how to end the days of his dear lord and master, who loved him beyond all measure, as myself have heard many Persians report; yet was not that King beloved of his subjects. Well, this was his plot; he did give the King's barber a great reward to cut his throat when he did shave him, which thing when it was performed this nobleman fled immediately to his new master, who embraced him friendly. The country straight were up in arms, and half a dozen kings were proclaimed;

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some brothers that were blind and some uncles that were blind also, for the people did according as their affections were; but this King Abbas came with his power that he had and laid siege to Casbin, for because the citizens would not receive him, but in few days he gat it, and put most of them to the sword because they did withstand him. So his forces increased every day and he marched towards Ispahan, which is the chiefest city in the kingdom, some ten days' journey from Casbin, conquering the country, but they came to him in multitudes to increase his power. The lords of the council gathered a great army together, thinking to encounter him, but when they understood what power he was of, they altered their minds and met him on their knees, receiving him with great triumphs, and the next day he was proclaimed King in Ispahan and crowned some two days after with great joy. After he was crowned, this nobleman, which was the death of his brother, came to the King and demanded his Dukedom, which the King promised him; the King answered him, "Thou art worthy of it;" so bidding him kneel did create him Duke, and placed him next unto himself, and then was he the greatest man in Persia next unto the King. The next day after, the King and lords sitting in council, the King demanded this question, "What was he worthy to receive,

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that having a loving master, yea one that loved him better than himself, and yet was the cause of his death?" It is the fashion of the country, that when the King doth ask a question, the best man in the place next to the King must give the answer; so this new made duke, being then in presence, after long pause, very unwilling gave answer, "that such a servant was worthy of great punishment." Then the King, standing up, suddenly drew his sword, and said, "Villain that thou art, thou shalt have thy desert;" and so cut off his head with his own hands, and said, "thou that didst betray so loving a master, thou wouldst do the like to me, therefore take thy desert:" and so caused his carcase to be thrown into the fields for the crows to feed on; and thus much in brief concerning the manner of his coming to the crown.

Now will I shew you in what fashion he came from the wars, and the welcome he gave us.

The King, some two days before he entered into Casbin, sent a courier or post before him to his Lord Steward, to furnish us with the best horses he could get, and that we should meet him four miles forth of Casbin, accompanied with the Governor and himself, which was very gallantly performed by them both. In this sort was Sir Anthony and we of

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his company appointed; first, Sir Anthony himself in rich cloth of gold, his gown and his under coat; his sword hanging in a rich scarf to the worth of a thousand pounds, being set with pearl and diamonds; and on his head a turban according, to the worth of two hundred dollars, his boots embroidered with pearl and rubies; his brother, Mr. Robert Sherley, likewise in cloth of gold, his gown and under coat, with a rich turban on his head; his interpreter, Angelo, in cloth of silver, gown and under coat; four in cloth of silver gowns, with under coats of silk damask; four in crimson velvet gowns, with damask under coats; four in blue damask gowns, with taffety under coats; four in yellow damask, with their under coats of a Persian stuff; his page in cloth of gold; his four footmen in carnation taffety. And thus we set forward; Sir Anthony and his brother riding together; the Lord Steward on the right hand and the Governor on the left, the rest came after by two and two, myself directly before Sir Anthony, with a white staff in my hand, for it pleased him to make me his marshal, for in that country every great man hath his marshal to ride before him. So after we were half a mile forth of the city we saw such a prospect as is not usually seen; which was, twelve hundred soldiers, horsemen, carrying twelve hundred heads of men on their lances, and some having the ears of men

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put on strings and hanged about their necks; next after these came the trumpeters, making a wonderful noise; because they are contrary to our English trumpets, these trumpets being two yards and a half in length, with the great end big, and so much compass as a hat. Next after them came the drummers, their drums being made of brass, and carried upon camels; then after them came his six standard bearers; then after came his twelve pages, bearing every one a lance in his hand; then a good distance after them came the King, riding alone with a lance in his hand, his bow and arrows, sword and target, hanging by his side, being a man of low stature, but very strongly made, and swarthy of complexion. Next after the King came his lieutenant-general of the field, and all his bows in rank like a half moon; and after them came his officers in the wars, to the number of twenty thousand soldiers, all horsemen. So at our first encounter of the King, Sir Anthony and his brother did alight off their horses, and came to kiss the King's foot; for it is the fashion of the country, be he never so good a man he must kiss the King's foot at the first meeting; after that was performed, the King did look upon them both very stately, and afterwards did look upon us all, giving never a word to Sir Anthony, but bid the lieutenant-general place him according as he had given direction, and so the

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King set spurs to his horse, and did ride away for the space of an hour; Sir Anthony being placed in the King's place, with his brother Mr. Robert Sherley, the lieutenant general on the right hand, and the lord steward on the left. After the King was departed, the lord steward told Sir Anthony that it was the custom to entertain strangers in that fashion, but willed him to have patience awhile, and he should see the event; so within an hour the King returned back again as fast as his horse would go, and having following him sixteen women on horseback richly attired, and when he came close to Sir Anthony the women did holloa, and gave such a cry, much like the wild Irish, which did make us wonder at it; then after they had made an end, the King came and embraced Sir Anthony and his brother, kissing them both three or four times over, and taking Sir Anthony by the hand, swearing a great oath that he should be his sworn brother, and so he did call him always, and so the King marched along, putting Sir Anthony on his right hand. It was a wonderful sight to see the multitude of people that were there that day; and still as the King did pass along the people would kneel down and kiss the earth; but before we came into the city, there was proclamation made that, upon pain of death, no soldier should enter into the city, but such as were born

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there, for fear of making any uproar; and so they were all discharged and departed every one to his own country for that time. So after we had entered the city, we marched through every street, and in the end came to a banqueting house of the King's; when the king brought Sir Anthony up into a very fair chamber richly trimmed; in which chamber Sir Anthony delivered a speech to the King, what was the occasion of his coming, with a discourse of our wearisome journey, and of our usage in Turkey, and other accidents which did happen unto us by the way, which the King did hearken very attentively unto, and when Sir Anthony had ended his speech, the King stood up and replied; "Brother, I do grieve to hear of thy sore adventures and troubles by the way, but I do much rejoice to see thee here in safety at our court; for be well assured I will place thee on my head." This was his meaning, that he would advance him to great honour; then was there a great banquet brought in, with music before it, where they past away their time for the space of two hours, with great joy; after the banquet was ended, the King requested Sir Anthony to look through the window to behold their sports on horseback. Before the house there was a very fair place to the quantity of some ten acres of ground, made very plain; so the King went down, and when he had

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taken his horse, the drums and trumpets sounded; there was twelve horsemen in all with the King; so they divided themselves six on the one side, and six on the other; having in their hands long rods of wood, about the bigness of a man's finger, and at one end of the rods a piece of wood nailed on like unto a hammer. After they were divided and turned face to face, there came one into the middle, and threw a wooden ball between both the companies, and having goals made at either end of the plain, they began their sport, striking the ball with their rods from one to the other, in the fashion of our football play here in England; and ever when the King had gotten the ball before him, the drums and trumpets would play one alarum, and many times the King would come to Sir Anthony to the window, and ask him how he did like the sport. So when the sport was ended, Sir Anthony sent me down of some business, and as I went down the stairs it was my chance to meet with the King, who when he saw me, took me by the arm, and caused me to return back again with him, and brought me to the chamber where the Turk's Ambassador was, and did lead me along to the upper end of the chamber, and put me above the Turk's Ambassador, bidding me sit down there, by reason they have no stools, but sit on carpets. I could ill sit cross-legged after

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their manner, but kneeled on my knees; then the Ambassador told the King it was the fashion of England, to sit on stools, for he had been oft-times in the English merchants' houses in Constantinople. When the King had heard these words, he presently went into the next room, and caused one of his pages to bring forth a little form, which they did use to set bottles of wine upon, and throwing a carpet of gold upon it, caused me to sit down; then he called for some wine, and did drink a health unto me, and used these words. "I do esteem more of the sole of a Christian's shoe, than I do of the best Turk in Turkey;" and then he asked me if I would serve him? I answered him, in regard I was a subject in his country I must be at his command, yet I was loth to leave my old master, in regard he loved me well; at which words the King did take me about the neck and kissed me three or four times, and said, "I do highly commend thy constancy; nevertheless I will entreat my brother, thy lord, for thee, that thou shalt be my servant so long as you stay in my country." Then after some few words more, he went forth of the room to Sir Anthony and told him he must needs have one of his servants from him; he answered, that it did not lie in his power to give any of them, but if it pleased him, he might command any of them to do him what service they were able; the King

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thanked him very heartily, and told him that he should command all his servants to do the like; then after some few words' parley the King brought Sir Anthony to his house, and told him he would take no leave of him, for he purposed to see him before he did sleep. So after we had supped at our own house, Sir Anthony, not thinking the King would have seen him any more that night, because it waxed late, he determined to have gone to his rest, but he was disappointed, for the Lord Steward came for him, with sixteen torches and some twenty gentlemen to attend him, to bring Sir Anthony and all his company to the King, to spend that night with him, but when we came where the King was, such a spectacle we did behold which did almost ravish us with joy to see it; you shall understand that in the middle of the city of Casbin there is a place which they call the Bazar, made in fashion like the Exchange in London, though not so beautiful, yet three times as big, where they keep shops of all manner of trades; for that time the shopkeepers had set forth their commodities in the best manner, and themselves appareled very gallantly. In the middle of that place standeth a round thing made with a seat, set up with six pillars, about some [ ] over, on which place they use to sell apparel and other commodities; that being bravely trimmed with rich carpets, both of

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gold and silver and silk, and the King's chair of estate placed in the middle, the chair being of silver plate set with turkoises and rubies very thick, and six great diamonds, which did shew like stars, the seat being of rich scarlet embroidered with pearl, and the multitude of lamps hanging about it were innumerable; the King, when he came unto it, did cause Sir Anthony to ascend up into that princely throne, and standing by the chair with his viceroy, and other of his nobility, did take Sir Anthony by the hand, and willed him to sit down in his chair of estate; but Sir Anthony, falling on his knee, desired the King to pardon him, for so princely a place did not become him, in regard he was but a subject himself. The King swearing a great oath, which was by the soul of Mortus Ali, that he should sit in the chair, and if the best Persian of them all did grieve at it, he would presently cut off his head; and taking Sir Anthony by the hand, bid him sit down, without fear, which Sir Anthony did, and when he was set, the King kissed him, and said, "Brother, thou dost well become this place;" then he called for a stool for Mr. Robert Sherley, which was presently brought, and he sat him close by his brother Sir Anthony, and placing all of us of Sir Anthony's company round about the throne, sitting on carpets cross-legged, according

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to the country fashion; then came there in a royal banquet with drums and trumpets sounding before it, which was brought in by twenty-four noblemen, and when the drums and trumpets departed, the music came in playing, with twenty women very richly apparelled, singing and dancing before the music. So when the banquet was ended, the King arose, taking Sir Anthony by the arm, and so they walked, arm in arm, in every street in the city, the twenty women going before, singing and dancing, and his noblemen coming after, with each of them one of our company by the hand, and at every turning there was variety of music, and lamps hanging on either side their streets of seven heights one above another, which made a glorious shew; and thus for the space of eight days and nights did we spend the time in sporting and banqueting with all the pomps they could devise. So after the tenth day was expired, the King sent Sir Anthony twelve camels, three tents very large, with all kinds of official houses belonging to them, and household stuff; sixteen mules, every mule carrying four carpets, four of silk and gold, six of clean silk, the rest very fair crewel carpets; also he sent him fourteen horses,* whereof two of them were for his own saddle, two for his brother, and

* Sir A. Sherley says, forty.

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the ten for ten of us; he sent fourteen saddles, whereof two of them were of gold plate, set very thick with turkoises and rubies, two of gold plate, plain; the other ten of velvet embroidered with silver very richly; and so much silver* as six men could carry, entreating Sir Anthony to accept of that small trifle for a month's expenses: desiring Sir Anthony that he would meet him some four days' journey with ten of his best men to attend him and his brother. Sir Anthony thinking the King did it to make trial of our valour, called ten of us unto him, which were these; myself, John Norris, Thomas Davis, William Parry, Thomas Powell, John Ward, John Parrott, Gabriel Brookes, Arnold Roldcraft, Edward Vantheivier, a Dutchman; and he told us what he thought the King's intent was: and willing us to shew ourselves like true Englishmen, if any such occasion should happen; so the next morning we set forward, accompanied by one of the King's gentlemen of his horse to attend us, and be our guide, who did provide us victuals, in every town or place we passed through, paying never a penny: so at the four days' end, somewhat in the evening, we met in a cross way with the King's mules, which carried his provisions. One of

* Of the value of 16,000 ducats.—*Ibid.*

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the King's gentlemen told us that the King was at hand; so within half an hour the King overtook us, having in his company to the number of two hundred men following him; so when he was come to Sir Anthony, he took him about the middle and kissing him two or three times, sware that he thought every day a year, until he saw him. That night we supped with the King in a great house which the King builded on purpose for travellers; for through the country, where it is not well inhabited, there the King hath built great houses which they call Canns, for the merchants and other travellers to lodge in, and there you shall have both man's meat and horse meat.

That night at supper, the King was very pleasant with us, until such time as one of his noblemen had angered him, upon some small occasion, and then we went to rest. The next morning the King was stirring very early, and being in wrath, caused this nobleman which had offended him, to be tied with chains to a stake, and ten of the King's gentlemen to throw quinces at him to the number of one hundred. The King himself did throw the first, so after they had thrown, every man one quince, Sir Anthony stepped to the King, entreating him to pardon him, and throw no more; the King presently smiled and said, "Brother, it shall be as thou wilt have it," and caused him to be untied, and the nobleman came

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and kissed Sir Anthony's hand; so that night we went twelve miles to a gallant city, called Kaschan, spending the time by the way in hawking and hunting, and we came into the city in the evening, where we were royally entertained by the citizens. The King did lie at his own palace, and we were lodged in a nobleman's house, where we were entertained with all kind of dainties from the citizens. About ten o'clock in the night we were sent for to meet the King in the Piazza, which is a fair place, like unto Smithfield, standing in the middle of the town; there we found the King and his nobility, with great store of torches, and round about the place were lamps hanged on the sides of their houses unlighted; so the King took us upon the top of a turret, and caused us to look down towards the lamps, which lighted all at the twinkling of an eye, and likewise on the tops of all the houses in the city were lamps which made a glorious shew, thicker than the stars in the sky. Then there was such stately fireworks, made by a Turk, that Sir Anthony did wonder at, which seemed as if dragons were fighting in the air, with many other varieties, especially one firework worth the noting, which was this, there was a great fountain of water in the Piazza, out of which from the very bottom there would arise things like fishes, throwing fire out of their mouths about a dozen yards

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high, which we thought a great wonder. So, after these sights were past, there came in a gallant banquet with the sound of drum and trumpet: so when the banquet was ended, it was my chance to walk down from the company, being somewhat weary of sitting cross legged, according to the country manner; and going towards the King's palace-gate, it was my fortune to meet with a very gallant gentlewoman, who came running, making such a cry that I did wonder at her, she came presently towards me, and catched me by the arm. I asked her what the matter was, she said there was one of the King's gentlemen would have ravished her: so as I was walking with her, the King came to us all alone, as his manner is; sometimes he will go from the company on the sudden, commanding that no man shall follow him. He asked the woman why she cried, she answered, that one of his servants would have ravished her, and another did stand by and would not help her. The King demanded where they were, she said, they were in his court; then the King did take her by the hand, and going towards his palace-gate, there came a couple of gentlemen forth of the gate. "There they are," said the woman, "seeing that this is the man that would have ravished me, and that is he that did stand by." The King presently halloed, and immediately there came

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running all the company, both lords and others, but Sir Anthony was the first man that came to the King; for they were all afraid to hear him call; yet, when his company was come together, he asked once again the cause of her crying; she said as she said before. Then the King caused the gentleman that did stand by, and would not rescue the woman, to have his two little fingers cut off, and so he kissed the King's foot and departed, but the other he put to cruel torments: for first he caused his tongue to be cut off, then his eyelids, the crown of his head, his lips, his nose, and after all this, they did cut his ham strings; this being finished, the King, looking upon him, used these words: "Villain, be thou an example to all other men: do I allow in my country that for money any man may have the use of a woman, and wilt thou make my house a stews?" With that the man's father came to entreat the King he might carry away his son. He said, "No, here shall he lie and starve in this place, and he that cometh near him, to give him any aid, shall be served in the like manner." Well, after we had passed away three days with all varieties of sports, as namely these, wrestling with men naked, fighting of camels, and rams of antelopes, bear-baiting, bull-baiting, and such other sports, we held on our journey to that famous city of Ispahan, riding

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through many towns, but none worth the noting, save only one, which was called Coome, where we were kindly received by the townsmen; there we rested one day and a night, but did hold on our journey, hawking and hunting by the way; wherewith, in three days, we came within three miles of Ispahan, where we lodged all night, both the King and all the rest of his lords. The next morning, by nine of the clock, we made ourselves ready to attend the King, where, after we had ridden but one quarter of a mile, we saw in a valley the King's soldiers, to the number of thirty thousand men, attending the King's coming; who when they perceived the King was at hand, the drums and trumpets made such a noise, as if heaven and earth had met together; there were also the heads of men carried upon lances: so, after the king had spoken to them, they fell all into a half-moon, and marched after the King's train. So when we came within two miles of the city, the citizens did meet him very gallantly appareled, to the number of some ten thousand: they made a way of taffety and satin lying upon the ground for the King to ride upon: the King, when he saw it, gave them great thanks, which pleased the citizens very much. Then the King did take Sir Anthony by the hand, and willed him to ride his horse upon it, but Sir Anthony would not by any means; so when the King

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saw he would not, he called his guards to him, and gave all the silks and satin to them, and they shared it among them. There we made a stand, and the King caused his lieutenant-general to see his soldiers skirmish: and some of his gentlemen being amongst them, did not behave themselves to the King's mind; and, moreover, his soldiers were not so perfect as the king did expect they should; whereupon he presently ran in amongst them with his sword drawn, like to an Hercules, and, upon a sudden, he gave four of them their death's wound. Then did he grow more into blood, and not sparing any, but cutting off the arms from divers of them. One gentleman, which did but only smile, the King never left, and coming for succour into our company, the king gave him such a blow on the middle, that the one half of his body fell from the other. There we spent that day, and in the evening, about six of the clock, we marched towards the city, where the governor leading the way, the young prince came riding fast by him, and jesting with him somewhat grossly about his wife, in regard she was a fair woman, the governor did use some unkind word to the prince, which made him angry; so he came presently and told the king, who charged him to take his bow and arrows and shoot him through; which he did immediately, and did shoot him through one of the thighs. The

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governor presently did alight off from his horse, and came and kissed the prince's feet; when the King saw it, he came to the governor and kissed him, and made him viceroy of that province, and ever after did impose great trust into him: so we entered the city, and marched about in every street. Then the King brought Sir Anthony to his house, which was prepared ready for his coming, and willed him to have patience, and he would see him again in the morning; then the King went to his palace, and that night we rested. There were slain that day to the number of seven score, in regard of the extremity of the heat, and those which the King himself did kill; amongst the rest, it was the King's fortune to kill one of Sir Anthony's footmen, being a Persian; and when the King was told of it, he was exceeding sorry, thinking he had been a Christian, and he came the next morning in private to Sir Anthony, and told him he was exceeding sorry, wishing it had been his fortune to have slain a dozen Persians for him; Sir Anthony made answer, that he was a Persian: when the king heard it, he was exceeding glad, and willed Sir Anthony to make choice of any footman that he had: and thus much for our entertainment into Persia.

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Now will I treat of the manner, condition, and fashion of the Persians.

You shall understand, that the country of Persia is far more pleasant for a stranger to live in than the Turks' country, for this King, since his coming to the crown, hath brought this country into such subjection, that a man may travel through it with a rod in his hand, having no other weapon, without any hurt: the people are very courteous and friendly to strangers; their apparel very neat and comely. The men wear long coats to the small of their legs, with great rolls on their heads of divers colours, called turbans: they wear gowns furred with rich fur; for, although the country be exceeding hot, they always wear furred gowns. The women are very beautiful, for the better sort, in regard they wear veils over their heads, so that the sun never shines on their faces; the women do wear breeches as well as the men, and red velvet stockings. The men have only one wife, but as many concubines as they can keep: a woman that is married, and is proved to commit adultery, she is presently burnt: and as it is allowed in the Turks' kingdom for the men to have the use of boys, it is not so here, for the Persians do severely punish that vice, for I saw a notable example:—at my being in the country, there was a great

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nobleman, called Peer Calliberg, and allied to the King, which did offer that abuse to one of the King's pages, offering him a large gift, but the boy did acquaint the King with it; which when the King heard of it, he sent presently in a rage for the lord, and caused the boy to cut off his head with his own sword.

Moreover, as the Turks do hold the kindred of Mahomet in great reverence amongst them, so the Persians do contrary unto them; for you shall see in every town through the kingdom of Persia, once a day, one walks along the streets with an axe on his shoulder, and speaking these words with a loud voice, "that if any man do hold Mahomet's kindred to be better than any other man, or if any one do say that he is of his kindred, he shall presently lose his head;" for I myself saw a Turk, that was in Ispahan, come to the fellow, and say that he was of Mahomet's kindred, and in that opinion he would die; and so kneeled down, laying his head upon a block, and the fellow immediately cut off his head. Their belief is in God the father, and in Mortus Ali, and they hold Mahomet to be a great prophet. They have churches and very fair churchyards, which they keep very clean, with a pulpit in the middle of the churchyard; and likewise a fountain, which they use to wash them in before they go to prayer. They have

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also holy men, which they call Santons, whom they put much trust unto, that they can tell them what shall happen to them if they take a journey in hand: these men go naked, without shirts, only they have a felt gown of blue; and every year, on that day that Mortus Ali died, they will slash themselves all over their arms and breasts with knives, in most piteous manner, that sometimes they die with it. Their priests go appareled in white, and preach every Friday, for that day is their sabbath: they pray with great devotion, for I myself have seen them at their prayers with such zeal, that they have fallen into a swoon. They keep their Lent much about that time that we do here in England, and they call it their Bairum: it lasteth twenty-eight days, and all the day they eat no meat, until the south star do appear, and then they go to their victuals; and then will they sport themselves all night. The better sort of them do never at this, or any other time, drink wine, except they have a licence from the King; and sometimes the King, in his humour, will cause a proclamation to be made, that for three days any man may drink wine at his pleasure; then sometimes you shall see them drunk, and then will the King take great delight to walk up and down the city to see them; but

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he that is found drunk when those three days are expired shall presently lose his head: all Christians are allowed to drink wine, and all the King's servants.

The country is very well furnished with all kinds of fruit; they have great store of wheat, so that bread is very cheap, and victuals at a very good rate: the most of their feeding is rice, dressed divers kind of ways. The King will go in private to their markets, to see what order they keep; for, two years before our coming into the country, the King had been in the market at Ispahan, and falling in talk with a fellow that sold milk, he asked him how the governor of that place where he dwelt did behave himself; "Why," said the fellow, being of a bold spirit, "if I was in his place I would bring the King a dozen heads a week of villains that rob up and down the country, so that we can scarce go a stone's cast from our houses, but we shall be robbed; and the governor doth bear with them, and takes money of them to let them live in that fashion." The King hearing this, liked the fellow well, desiring him to come to the court the next morning, and he would shew him the King's house, bidding him, when he came, to ask some of the King's guard for one Abbas; the fellow said he would: so, when the king came to the court, he gave order with his guard that when such a fellow came to speak with one Abbas, the

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next morning, they should bring him to him. Well, the next morning the man came, according to his promise, and demanded of some of the guard for one Abbas; so they brought him presently to the King's bed-chamber; when the King heard that he was come, he caused him to be brought in unto him. When the man did perceive that it was the King, he fell down on his knees, asking him forgiveness: the King commanded him to stand up, and sent for apparel for him, and gave him the command of fifty men, charging him, first to bring the governor to him, which he did within three days after, who presently lost his head. Then the King charged him to bring him the twelve heads of those villains which robbed in the country the next week following, or else he should lose his own; so he took his leave of the King for that time; and within four days after, he brought the King twenty heads. When the King saw that, he gave him the command of fifty men more, and made him governor of that place: and he behaved himself so well, that he brought the country, in one month's space, to such quietness, that a man might walk with a rod in his hand without hurt. The King, after a small time, did take such a liking of him, that he made him captain of his guard, and gave him the command of a thousand men, to keep the borders of his country.

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It happened upon a time, that the King being in progress, (for this is his custom, he doth never trouble his country with carriages, but hath carriages of his own for that purpose, and all his nobility;) the King, in the way, did overtake some carriages of this new-made governor, whereof were six mules laden; the middle mule having his carriage covered with a carpet wrought with silk and gold; he demanded of the men whose carriage it was; one made answer, that it was the Lord Mustriffa's, captain of his guard, for so the King had created him. The King that night did lodge in his tent; this new-made lord came to the court somewhat late; but, when the King did hear of his coming, he presently did call for him, and told him, that he did overtake his carriages, whereof there was one mule that was covered with a gold carpet, which lading, said the King, I must have. He presently did fall on his knees, and entreated the King to take all the rest, for that was all the wealth he had. The King presently was in great rage against him, and caused him to be laden with irons, and went presently where his carriage was; there, finding it to be a chest, he caused it to be broken open, and there he found nothing but his old cloaths and his milk-pails, which he used to sell his milk with. When the King saw it, he presently wept, because he had done him

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so much wrong; then he asked him why he did keep those so safe; he answered,—"that the favours of princes sometimes are lost for a small fault; and his fortune may in time prove so bad, in regard there were many in the court which did envy his honour, and fortunes he had received; which made me reserve those, if such a chance should happen, to get me my living." The King presently caused them to be burnt, and created him a duke, adding four thousand tomans a year to his living, which is eight thousand pounds English; and, at our being there, he was most in favour with the King. He was, absolutely, a man of the bravest carriage in the court, and did use Sir Anthony very kindly, and all his company, but especially myself, for I did receive many kindnesses from him.

And in this fashion hath this King exalted many poor men to honour since his coming to the crown. The King's disposition is noted by his apparel which he wears that day; for that day which he weareth black, he is commonly melancholy and civil; if he wear white, or green, yellow, or any other light colour, he is commonly merry; but when he weareth red, then all the court is afraid of him, for he will be sure to kill somebody that day: I have oft-times noted it. They have martial law in the country; for if a man be found to steal the worth of sixpence,

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he is presently hanged at the next tree, by order of the governor of that place wherein he is taken; for every little town or village hath its governor, or, as they call them, cádies; and commonly where the King is, he will give justice himself. The King doth ever ride with a great train, to the number of five or six hundred men, in his company. They are very expert in their pieces or muskets; for although there are some which have written, now of late, that they had not the use of pieces until our coming into the country, this much I must write to their praise, that I did never see better barrels of muskets than I did see there: and the King hath, hard by his court at Ispahan, about two hundred men at work, only making of pieces, bows and arrows, swords and targets; and thus concerning the fashion, manner, and custom of the Persians.

Now to the former matter:—I shewed you before how the King sent us fourteen horses at Casbin, with other provision, to attend him from thence to Ispahan; leaving the rest of our company behind us, under the conduct of Mr. Abel Pinson, who was then steward to Sir Anthony, which were to the number of twenty-four persons, English, French, Greeks, and Persians, who were gallantly furnished by the viceroy of the whole kingdom, every man his horse and furniture, according to his vocation,

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and were conducted by one of his own gentlemen from Casbin to Ispahan; where, after their coming to us, we stayed there six months, without any remove, spending our time in hawking, hunting, and other sports. In the which time the King was resolved to send Mr. Robert Sherley to the Queen of England, with a very rich present, only to shew how much he honoured her; but Sir Anthony altered the King's mind; persuading him to send to all the princes in Christendom, which he was assured the Queen would like well of, and to be in league with them all, and he would undertake to accomplish the embassage; and, moreover, that he would maintain wars against the Turk on that side of him, and he would work so with the Christian princes that they should maintain wars on the other side; and so, by that means, overthrow him. The which matter the king was exceeding glad of, giving Sir Anthony many thanks for his good invention; and presently he sent away the Turk's embassador, who was come thither to renew the league between the Great Turk and the King of Persia; commanding him to tell his master, that he would never rest until he were in the field against him. At which answer of the King's, the Persians did much rejoice; for there was an old proverb in Persia, that there should come a Christian from far into their country, by whose ad-

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vice they should gain all their rights from the Great Turk, which the Persians in former times had lost. Yet, after all this was concluded upon, the King was very loth to part from Sir Anthony, and offered him to be lieutenant-general of all his forces against the Turk; which offer Sir Anthony did highly embrace; yet in regard he was a man of greater note than his brother was, did make choice to go of this embassage, and to return again with as much speed as he possibly could; but *mala fortuna* did happen on him by the way. Then Sir Anthony did request the King to send a Persian along with him, some man of account, to witness with him how much the King did embrace the love of the Christian princes. The King did very well like of his motion, and made choice of one which had followed him long, whose name was Seane Olibeg;* the King created him a lord, and allowed him sixteen men to attend on him. Moreover, the King promised Sir Anthony that he would send presents to every prince, of a great value.

Well, after all these matters were concluded on, there came to us a Franciscan friar to Ispahan, and told Sir Anthony, in regard he was a Christian, he was the more bolder to come to him; and told

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* Cuchin Allibi.—*Sherley.*

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him, moreover, that there was another friar coming, a Dominican friar, who was Bishop of Ormus, a Portugal born, and he was going of great business to the King of Spain: his request was this, that Sir Anthony would get him that favour from the King, that he might go appareled in his own weed or habit; which favour Sir Anthony did obtain of the King. And the next day Sir Anthony did go and meet him four miles forth of Ispahan, with one hundred horse to attend him; and so he brought him into the city, and lodged him in his own house. The next day after, he brought him to the King, who received him for Sir Anthony's sake very royally; and the King gave him a crucifix of gold set with diamonds, turquoises, and rubies, which crucifix was sent the King from Presbiter Jhan, as the King himself did shew unto us. The King asked the friar "where he had travelled?" the friar answered, "that he was sent from the Pope as his deputy into those parts amongst the Christians;" "the Pope," said the King, "what is he?" although he did know very well what he was, yet did he make as though he had never heard of him: the friar made answer, "that the Pope was Christ's vicar upon earth, to pardon and forgive sins;" "then," quoth the King, "he must needs be a very old man, if he have been here on earth ever since Christ was crucified by the

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Jews:" "nay," said the friar, "there hath been many Popes since that time, for when one dieth another cometh into his place." "What!" said the King, "are they earthly men born in Italy or in Rome;" "yes," said the friar:" "but have they at any time talked with Christ, or God the Father?" said the King; "no," quoth the friar. Then the King made this answer,—"I do not believe that any man on earth can pardon or forgive sins, but God the Father; and for Christ," said the King, "I do hold him to be a great prophet, yea, the greatest that ever was; and I do think, verily, that if any man could forgive sins, it was he; for I have read that he did great miracles when he was upon the earth; he was born of a woman; but, as I have read, the angel of God came to her, and breathed on her, and so was he conceived. I have read, likewise, of his crucifying by the Jews, which doth make me hate them; for to this hour there is none suffered to live in my country." The friar was stricken mute; and we all did wonder to hear the King reason so exceeding well, in regard he was a heathen; but he told Sir Anthony he was almost a Christian in heart, since his coming unto him. So after we had staid there two weeks longer, the King's letters were ready to all the Christian princes, which Sir Anthony received from the King. So we took our

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leaves of Ispahan, and the King brought us two days' journey, and did take his leave of Sir Anthony very sorrowful; and did take his brother, Mr. Robert Sherley, by the hand, whom we left behind us; and the King said to Sir Anthony that he would use him as his own son, and that he should never want, so long as he was King of Persia. Then he gave Sir Anthony a seal of gold, and said, "Brother, whatsoever thou dost seal unto, be it to the worth of my kingdom, I will see it paid:" so the king kissed Sir Anthony three or four times, and kissed us all, and said, that if we did return again we should receive great honour. So we departed from the King, accompanied by the false friar, who, in the end, as you shall hear hereafter, would have betrayed us with his villainy; but Seane Olibeg, that was to come along with us, stayed behind for the presents, because they were not ready, and he was to come to us at [ ], where we were to take shipping: and so much for that part."

In order to continue the narrative of Sir Anthony's adventures, we must now have recourse to Parry's pamphlet. After relating the occurrences in the expedition up to this period, it proceeds as follows:

"Upon the Caspian Sea, which we were to cross, we were two months before we landed; which time

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we endured with much pain, and no less fear, having, besides the natural roughness of the sea, very much foul and stormy weather, by reason whereof we had been like to have suffered shipwreck, the vessel having twice struck on ground, so that we were constrained to disburden the same of a great part of our substance. Howbeit, in the end, God so blessed us, that in two months we came to our wished-for harbour; where, being arrived, the governor having intelligence of our landing, sent a captain with a guard to receive us, and to conduct us to the castle of Astracan, where was landed, but the day before, an ambassador, that the King of Persia had sent a month before, only to make our passage through the Emperor of Russia's country. From which castle to Moscow Town we went by river and by land, ten weeks passing: all which time Sir Anthony and his company, with the other ambassadors and their attendants, were all at the charge of the Russian emperor; for so is the custom of that country to all travellers of that nature, as long as they are passing through his dominions, who eat such meat as is brought before them gratis, having, withal, a guard set over them; so that they are little better than prisoners as long as they are within the limits of his territories.

From Astracan we passed by boat along the mighty

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river of Volga, until we came to a town named Negson, which was seven weeks' passage. In which time we saw nothing worthy the noting, but three or four wooden castles or block houses to guard that river; which river doth bring marvellous great commodities to the Emperor. Divers Tartars passing from place to place about the river, living in little houses made upon wheels, and are carried to and fro, having abundance of cattle, live so in subjection to the emperor, paying him tribute, &c. One only fair city we saw all that while, called Cassane, wherein we were; from whence we passed by Negson, aforesaid; where, by the way, fell out a jar between Sir Anthony and the other ambassador, because Sir Anthony presumed to reprehend him for divers misdemeanors which he committed, to the dishonour of his king and country; insomuch, that had we not had a guard in our company, one of us had killed another.

Leaving here awhile, I will turn again to the friar,* who was by this time grown into mortal hatred with his fellow friar, of whom before I spake, whose name was Alfonso, a friar of the order of St. Francis; which friar had acquainted Sir Anthony that friar

* He has, in the former part of his story, given an account of the friar's misdeeds.

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Nicolao had spent his life most lewdly in the Indies, the particularities whereof he at large related. Moreover, he told him that, by reason of his licentious life, the King of Spain had sent for him, because he did much more hurt than good in those parts, but never would come until now that he was going thitherward. He also told Sir Anthony that that present which he delivered the King of Persia, in his own name, was sent by a friend of the King's from Ormus by another, who had withal a letter to the King: which bearer, being of his acquaintance, he inveigled and enticed, by the gift of fifty crowns and fair words, to deliver him the present, together with the letter to carry to the King, who finally prevailed with him; and when he came to Persia, he suppressed the letter, but delivered the present in his own name, as before is declared. Upon discovery of which villainies, Sir Anthony took him prisoner, and carried him along with him, as one deprived of former liberty: and being come to Negson, we staid there near hand a month. Towards the end whereof, the Emperor sent a great man of his court thither, for to accompany and conduct us to Moscow, who gave the pre-eminence to the Persian ambassador, in that he was ambassador to the Emperor from the Persian, and Sir Anthony but a passenger through his country, as he esteemed him; and so did use him

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at his pleasure, to Sir Anthony's small contentment, until we came to Moscow; where we were entertained in the best sort they could, with a crew of aqua-vitæ-bellied fellows, clad in coats of cloth of gold; which show being ended for the first encounter, those coats were put up again into the treasury or wardrobe, and we shut up in prison for ten days; yea, all access of others to us, or we to them, was thereby utterly barred. In which time we sent to entreat that either our English merchants might be permitted to come to us, or that we might go or send to them, for necessaries; because we were not fitted with clothes, as we thought, convenient for the Emperor's presence. Whereupon, the lord chancellor sent for the merchants, enquiring of them what Sir Anthony was, and whether they durst give him any credit. To whom they replied, that he was nobly descended, and allied even to the best men of England, yea, and that they would give him credit for as much as they were worth. Hereupon, they had liberty to send us such necessaries as we sent for, but no liberty to come to us, much less we to them.

The tenth day we were sent for to come before the Emperor after their order, which was to lay down in a note how every man should be marshalled in coming, being all on horseback; wherein the

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Persian ambassador was appointed by the Emperor to have the first and chief place; the next that Persian that was sent but to accompany Sir Anthony; and the last of the three should be Sir Anthony himself: which, when Sir Anthony perceived, he utterly refused to go in that order; because that he, to whose trust and charge the whole business had been committed, and by whom the same was solely procured, by which Persia likewise should be infinitely benefited, especially he being a Christian, and they Pagans, should be put hindmost in the march, that was the foremost in the matter.

By the means of which refusal he purchased the Emperor's displeasure; and to manifest the same, first, he took the friar from Sir Anthony, and gave him his liberty to go whither he thought good; next, he daily sent his great dukes to examine Sir Anthony upon divers frivolous particularities, to prove if they thereby might grope out some matter of advantage against him. Thus daily he was extremely vexed and molested by the Emperor. The Persian ambassador, withal, setting on the friar, underhand, to devise all the villainy he could against him, as to say he knew Sir Anthony to be but a man of mean parentage, and also that he was come but as a spy through the country, for purposes tending to his own good, and not of Persia and Christendom, as

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he pretended. Whereupon, they took all the king's letters from him, and opened them, to know the purport thereof.

Soon after, Sir Anthony and the friar were brought before the commissioners to be further examined; where Sir Anthony, being enflamed with choler, by reason of his exceeding ill-usage, notwithstanding the goodness of the cause of his coming, demanded whether the Emperor did ever purpose to send any ambassadors to any other countries; protesting, if ever he met with them in any parts of the world besides their own, he would endeavour to let them know he was not half so well entreated in Russia, as the cause of his coming of right deserved, and the Emperor, by the laws divine and civil, ought to have performed; and the rather, because he was a Christian, such as he pretends himself to be, and came, as became a Christian, for the general good of all Christendom; the Persian being stirred up thereunto by his only means. Whereupon, the friar in terms thwarted Sir Anthony, whose blood already boiled with the excess of his choler's heat, which as then abounded: and being, by that graceless and ungrateful friar, further provoked, he, not able, though instantly he should have died for it, to suppress his heat, gave the fat friar such a sound box on the face, his double cause of choler redoubling his might, de-

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sire of revenge withal augmenting the same, that down falls the friar, as if he had been struck with a thunderbolt: which being done with that courage and high resolution which well appeared in his looks, words, and deeds, they forthwith gave over examination, because they had too far examined Sir Anthony's patience; which well they with fear, as I think, saw, and the friar, almost past fear, did far better feel. Whereupon they went instantly to the Emperor, and informed him of all that had happened, and how Sir Anthony was resolved; for which, as by the event it appeared, he was used the better. For, from henceforward, we had liberty to go to the Englishmen, of whom we were very honourably entertained, and royally feasted. Howbeit, we were constrained to remain there six months; expecting every day, for all this, some mischief to be done unto us, or to be sent into some part of his country, to be kept where we should not have heard from our friends in haste, which we feared worse than death. Yet, in the end, we were eftsoons sent for before the privy council, where Sir Anthony had his charge to be gone, which was no small joy to us all.

But the day before we left Muscovia, it was my fortune to see the King and his Queen, in ceremonious and triumphal manner, passing out of the city,

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with a great image and a huge bell, to offer to a certain friary some thirty miles off, which was performed in this sort.—First, all the morning, divers troops of horse passed out of the city, to stand ready to receive him at his coming out of the gate. About mid-day, the King setting his guard foremost, all on horseback, to the number of five hundred, all clad in stammell coats, riding in rank, three and three, with bows and arrows, and swords girt to them, as also hatchets under the one thigh. After the guard were led by twenty men, twenty goodly horses, with twenty very rich and curious saddles, and ten more for his son and heir apparent, being a child of twelve years of age. After which was led, in like sort, twenty beautiful white horses for the Queen's chariots, having only upon them a fine sheet, and on their heads a crimson velvet bridle. After them came a great number of friars, in their rich caps, singing, carrying many pictures and lights. After them followed the greatest part of the merchants of the city. Next them was led the King's horse for that day, together with his son's; the King's saddle and furniture most richly beset with stones of great price and beauty. Then followed the patriarch, with all the archbishops, bishops, and great prelates, singing in their copes, very rich and glorious, having huge images borne before them, being very richly inlaid

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with precious gems of divers colours, and lights about them. Then followed the King himself, who in his left-hand had his son above-mentioned, and in his right-hand his cap. Next him came the Queen, supported on either side by two old ladies; her face was thickly plastered with painting, as were the other ladies, according to the custom of the country; her body very gross, her eyes hollow, and far into her head, attended with some threescore very fair women, if painting, which they hold a matter religious, deceived not the judgment of mine eye. All whose apparel was very rich beset with pearl, curiously wrought; having white hats on their heads, with great round bands laden with pearl. We never saw hats worn by any women in the country, but by them only. Next unto them were drawn three huge chariots, the first with ten fair white horses, two and two; the second with eight, and the third with six, in like order; which chariots were all very rich and gorgeous within and without: after which all the noblemen passed in coaches. Then was carried, in a great chest, the fore-named image, guarded by a great man and of state in the country, with some five hundred under his command, for the guard and convoy of that image. And last of all came that huge bell, being of twenty tons' weight, drawn by three thousand and five hundred men,—not being possible

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to be drawn by oxen or horses,—in manner following:—they fastened six exceedingly long hawsers, or mighty great cable ropes, in six lengths, to the frame whereon the bell was placed; in this rank of ropes were placed those three thousand five hundred men, with little cords over their shoulders fastened to the great hawsers, drawing after the manner of our western bargemen here in England.

The poise of the bell was so great, that, passing along the streets of Moscow, being paved with great square pieces of timber, set close one by another, the wood of this frame or carriage, whereon the bell was drawn, set the timber of the streets on fire, through both the woods chafing together; so that some were fain to follow hard after, to throw on water as the timber began to smoke: and thus was this bell and the image conveyed to the friary, as hath before been said.

The next day following we took our journey; that is to say, in mid-May, towards Saint Nicolas, to take shipping, which was some six weeks' passage by land and river; during all which time, we saw nothing, in a manner, but woods and water. But, being come to the sea-side, the place where we were to take ship, we staid there one month for provision for our journey; in which time, we were divers times invited aboard English ships, where we

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were royally banquetted, at the agent's charge, and the merchants'; to the solemnization of which banquet, we had three hundred great shot. And as we staid there, one Master Megrich, a merchant, came from Moscow, and brought the friar's two letters with him, reporting, that the lord chancellor, in satisfaction of the wrong and ill-usage he extended to Sir Anthony, sent after the friar to the borders, who took both his letters and all his substance, that he had deceitfully and lewdly gotten many years before in the Indies, from him, leaving him not so much as his friar's weed; and whether he caused his throat to be cut it was uncertain, but not unlike.

From hence we took ship for Stode, being six weeks upon the sea ere we could recover it; in which time we were continually tossed and tumbled with contrary winds, and some had been like to have been utterly cast away; so that we all were overwhelmed with despair, as we were at point to be in the sea; but that, by God's protection and direction, we, past all expectation, fell upon the Fly; where, having divers letters of Sir Anthony's to his friends in England, I parted from him; he holding his course towards the Emperor of Germany; from whence I came to the Texel, then to the Firme, so to the Hague, from the Hague to Flushing, and, finally, from thence to Dover, where I landed in the

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midst of the month of September, the three-and-fortieth year of the Queen's majesty's reign, and in the year of our Lord God 1601."

And now the yarn, out of which our history is manufactured, must be mingled with a few threads from the work of the anonymous author to whom we before referred. Passing over the adventures which happened in Russia, he continues the narrative in the following terms;

"Sir Anthony his receiving into Prague by Rodolphus, Emperor of Germany.

Sir Anthony, failing of his expectation in Russia, made what haste he could into Germany; but, for want of true instructions, we must let slip his occurrents in the way, and, with a pace as swift as thought, bring him from Russia to Prague. The Emperor understanding of his coming, (as, whereso-ever he came, his fame went still before him,) commanded thirteen coaches to be sent for him, the Persian, and their train. There came, also, to meet him, and to do him honour, at least five thousand men, whereof the most of them were colonels, captains, lieutenants, and gentlemen of note and account, together with many of the nobility; and with this train and attendance he was brought,

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with solemn and observant state and regard, into the city of Prague; where, being royally entertained in the Emperor's court, and having delivered the purport and tenor of his embassy, he found all things answerable to his worth, and the weight of his affairs. His lodging, together with the Persian's, was provided in a fair house, not far from the court. They were served in plate parcel-gilt, but in divers manner, according to the several customs of their countries. He lay in Prague half-a-year; in all which time he found nothing but revels, feastings, and other pleasures of court. Whenever he went abroad, he had allowed him, by the Emperor's appointment, a fair coach, drawn by six horses. The Persian had the like: but still Sir Anthony had the chiefest place and regard, which was the only cause of the often jars and breaches that were between them; for the Persian, being haughty and ambitious, would, many times, in his pride and insulting humour, as well openly in words and behaviour as closely, underhand, with plots and devices, attempt many things to bring Sir Anthony into disgrace, which still was revealed, and in the end revenged, even by his own prince, in his own country, as you shall afterwards hear, to Sir Anthony's honour, and the Persian's shame and confusion.

But to return:—having taken his leave of the

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Emperor in all reverend and solemn manner, he came from thence to Nuremberg; where, by his welcome and costly entertainment, the citizens showed what account and estimation they held of him; where, also, besides many stately banquets and rich presents, they bare all his charges for four days; and, at his departure, they presented two cups of gold, one to Sir Anthony, the other to the Persian. Howbeit, the lining of Sir Anthony's cup was better than the outside, for it was stuffed full of gold. Having taken his leave at Nuremberg, he came to Augusta, where he was well entertained; from thence to Munchen, where, also, the Duke of Bavaria gave him great entertainment; from Munchen he came to Inspruck, where stands the stately house of Austria; from thence to Trent, and so to Rome; in all which places he still found his entertainment beyond expectation.

At Rome, the Persian and he fell again at odds about superiority, when Sir Anthony plainly told him, that he had many times borne with his proud and insolent behaviour more than stood with his own honour and natural condition, only for the furtherance of the negociations they had in hand; which, since (saith he) you have done what is in your power to cross, observing rather your own ambitious humour, than the nature and quality of

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our employments, I will give you to understand, that, from henceforth, I will take a more strict note, and use a more peremptory controulment both of your words, gestures, and actions; and you shall learn to know I am your superior, and that I do nothing that becomes me not, both in the worthiness of mine own person, and in the virtue and authority of my commission. The Persian being thus galled, having neither a mind to suffer, nor a heart to revenge, in a sullen mood departed from Sir Anthony, and took his journey towards Persia, plotting and devising, by the way, all means he could to article against Sir Anthony, letting nothing slip either from his own mischievous conceit, or the false and malicious suggestions and informations of his followers, to bring Sir Anthony into contempt with his King. But, as many a man digs a pit for others and falls into it himself, so this unhappy Persian, supposing he had carried the poison of Sir Anthony's disgrace, brought into his heart the bane of his own undoing; for, being come to court, and having delivered before the Persian King, in the presence of Mr. Robert Sherley, the whole process of their travels, he did, in a particular manner, and with an envious and malicious tongue, prefer his suborned and suggested accusations against Sir Anthony; which Robert Sherley hearing, with countenance and

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words both befitting himself and his wronged brother, humbly besought the King, that there might be an indifferent hearing of this matter, and himself admitted to plead his brother's cause; which being granted, he so tripped and confounded the Persian in his informations, that being found guilty in the breach of his commission, and that he had demeaned himself in these great affairs with arts and behaviours derogatory to the honour of his King, and dangerous to the effecting of so great a business, and his accusations against Sir Anthony savouring of malice and not of truth, he was finally doomed by the King to have his hands cut off, and his tongue cut out, in the presence of Mr. Robert Sherley; who, being demanded what he would have more done unto him in the revenge of his brother's wrong, he answered, that he took no delight in his torment, and that which was already done was more than he was willing or consenting to; and that now he would entreat in the behalf of the miserable Persian, for that he supposed there could not be in his case a greater pleasure done unto him, than to have his head follow the fortune of his tongue and hands.

Thus ended at one time both the pride and life of this unhappy Persian.

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Of Sir Anthony Sherley's Voyage and Travels into Spain, with his entertainment there.

Man, in regard of his mind and body, being compared to heaven and earth, is said to be a little world;—the one subject to corruption, the other to immortality. Gold and silver, therefore, which Saint Bernard calls the *terra rubra et alba*, are not said to be the riches of the mind; but virtue is her divine substance, by the power whereof she doth extinguish that immoderate fire of sense and appetite, wherewith man's nature is dangerously inflamed; drawing it to be governed by the qualified and temperate rule of reason: and, in the excellency of her own account, being carried aloft with her celestial wings, (her object being drawn another way) she either beholds not, or doth not esteem, the riches, pleasures, and profits of the world, or whatsoever the base delights and erroneous desires of men hold to be precious. From whence it comes, that, having the body's government and virtue to be her own guide, she doth so rule and order it in all her projects and intendments, that she suffers it to commit nothing uncomely or unworthy her direction; but, with a mutual sympathy and agreement, they pass the whole progress of this life, shewing themselves, in all their desires and designs, to be

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religious, temperate, just, honourable, and worthy the image of their Creator. They are not servilely tied to any place or country, nor lulled with the delight of idleness, and home-bred pleasures; but as well to enrich the intellectual parts with knowledge and experience, as to exercise the body with the practice of labour, and grace the life with virtuous attempts, they seek out other climates; preferring the honourable drift of their desires, before the respect of life, and whatsoever is dearest unto man.

And thus, having the assistance of the divine power, what a memorial do they leave behind, worthy to be recorded to all posterity! Such was Paulus Æmilius, and Publius Cornelius Scipio; who, in their hostile employments, and successful attempts against Perseus and Hannibal, the two objects of their honourable emulations, and the dangerous enemies of their country, besides their valours, directions, policies, stratagems, ordering, and ending of their wars, were otherwise and even in their victories, and all their civil actions, so temperate, and so virtuously governed, that, at their return, men of all countries repaired to Rome, only to see them, and honour them, as men exceeding the state of mortality.

And when I compare the time of Sir Anthony

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Sherley's departure out of England, together with those great attempts he hath undertaken and compassed, (whereof I cannot discourse at large, being solemnly * instructed,) I am drawn to wonder, that neither the desire which every man naturally hath to his own country, nor the joyful welcomes, nor honourable entertainments that attend him there, can any whit stir his mind, or draw his affections, from his purposed intendments against the Turk, as well to shew the Christian respect he bears to his religion (it being the principal square and rule of all his attempts and actions); as, also, to make good his promise and protestation to the Persian King, still to persist in stirring up the minds and powers of the bordering kings, enemies to the house of Ottoman, and the Turkish Alcoran, that there is a great hope and expectancy, in a short time, to a sudden darkening and eclipse of that glaring beauty, and out-stretched bounds, of the Turkish empire.

Let us, therefore, attend him awhile into Spain (having already passed Russia, and Germany, and other parts); where, being entertained with all the honour of the court, and having delivered his mes-

* By whom or for what reason the author was so instructed, we are unable to say.

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sage (wherein was included the scope and purpose of his coming thither, both in regard thereof, and of the honourable league newly made, and likely to be continued, betwixt the two famous Kings of England and Spain), he found his entertainment doubled, his lodging and provision, both for himself and his retinue, in sumptuous manner prepared; to be brief, nothing wanting, that might either satisfy the delight and pleasures of an honourable stranger, or set forth the state and majesty of so great a prince.

But Sir Anthony, not desirous to bury his thoughts in the delights of the court, nor sleeping in the pleasures of that flourishing kingdom, had still his mind waking upon his affairs; holding all time mis-spent, that was not spent in revolving, consulting, and concluding, of the business he had in hand; that his toiling mind scarce gave his body rest, so great a desire had he both to redeem his brother, whom he left as a pledge with the Persian King, but, chiefly, to restore religion to those unhappy conquered kingdoms by the Turks; where now the holy churches, and sanctified temples of our Saviour, are changed to be the idolatrous places of the blasphemous synagogue of Mahomet.

He staid not long in Spain before the King installed him one of the knights of the honourable

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order of St. Jago, and created him captain of his galleys, for the wars against the Turks; so great a liking and love he seemed to bear, as well to his person, as to the state and condition of his affairs; which Sir Anthony, at all convenient times, did urge and prosecute, pretermitting no occasion that might still stir up and confirm the mind of this young King, with an honourable desire to undertake this war.

And he had, thus, many honours done unto him by the King of Spain, and was well entreated by most of his nobility; so was he as much crost by some other of that country, whom he had freed from captivity; for having, by suit, obtained the liberty and ransom of three who had been taken prisoners; the said prisoners upon this enlarged, and Sir Anthony expecting the payment of their ransoms, received very good dealings at the hands of two of them; but the other unthankful wretch, to save the ransom which he was to pay, ministered a draught of poison to him; which wrought so far with him, that it caused both the hair of his head, and the nails of his fingers, to fall off, and yet took not that devilish effect that he desired; for in a short time he recovered, and God restored him to his former health.

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Sir Anthony his expedition into Turkey, with his respective kindness done to an English merchant at Lisbon.

But to return to Sir Anthony:—his expedition into Turkey being thus concluded on, great preparation was made for the war; soldiers and sailors taken up in all parts, provision for armour and artillery, rigging of ships and galleys, great suit for places of command and offices of account, new colonels, captains, and lieutenants made: in all which Sir Anthony had the most special place of command. In fine, his commission was signed, wherein he was established captain-general of the navy, consisting of two hundred great ships, besides galleys and many other smaller vessels for provision, and thirty thousand land soldiers. All things being thus in readiness, Sir Anthony repaired to the court, to take his leave of the King. The King, after a great many signs and tokens of grace and favour, took from his own neck a jewel of great price, with the picture of Philip, his father, on the one side, and his own on the other, and delivered it to Sir Anthony with these words;—"When you look upon this, think on me." Sir Anthony, receiving it in all humble and thankful manner, protested that his life and that should part together.

Thus, when all solemnities and compliments of

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parting were ended, Sir Anthony made what haste he could to Lisbon, where his army staid his coming, and where, in a second state of entertainment, he found his welcome beyond expectation. But the wind joining with the necessity of his affairs, that required expedition, staid him not long here. Howbeit, before his departure from Lisbon, we should do him wrong unkindly to forget the remembrance of a great benefit and good turn done by him to a certain English merchant, whose name and credit is well known in London; for Sir Anthony had ever a care, in all his travels, to relieve such whom he found distressed, and especially his countrymen; as, amongst others, this instance.

This merchant having, against the laws and customs of Spain, embarked twelve thousand ducats of gold of the Spanish coin, with a purpose to have transported them into England, the searcher, and other officers for the King, having knowledge thereof, seized the whole sum into their own hands, it being by authority prohibited, and therefore forfeited unto them by the laws of the land. The merchant being much moved with this unfortunate and unexpected chance, it being the principal stock whereon his state relied, with a heavy heart repaired to Sir Anthony, unto whom complaining of his miserable estate by this accident, besought his favour that it

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would please him to extend the credit of his place for the recovery of this great sum, which, being lost, he well knew would be the undoing both of himself, his wife, and children; protesting that, in lieu thereof, he should command what part of it it pleased him, and that he should ever hold himself so much bound unto him, as that he would thenceforwards still acknowledge him to be the principal upholder of his state and fortunes.

Sir Anthony, being moved with pity of the merchant's mischance, so charmed the watchful keepers of this treasure, that, to his great honour and commendation, without appropriating any part thereof to his own use, he soon returned back this great sum into the merchant's possession; who, like Jason with his companions, did merrily sail homewards with this golden fleece. Shortly after, Sir Anthony with all his navy weighed anchor, and, with a prosperous gale of wind, soon lost the sight of Spain and Portugal. And we must now, for want of further intelligence, leave him upon the Levant seas, to that hopeful happy fortune that attends this honourable enterprise."

What this "hopeful happy fortune" was, we are constrained, from a similar want of further intelligence, to omit, and to proceed with the narrative of such of his adventures as are within our knowledge.

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In 1604, this extraordinary man was employed by the Emperor of Germany, as ambassador to the King of Morocco. A brief account* of the embassage is preserved in *Purchas's Pilgrims*, which exhibits several traits of Sir Anthony's character in a striking point of view.

"About this time, the beginning of October, arrived at Saffi Sir Anthony Sherley, as ambassador from the Emperor of Germany to the King of Morocco. His attendance was better than a private man, though somewhat wanting of the person from whom he was sent; few of note were in his company, being in all about thirteen persons, of every Christian language one, because he would be fitted for interpretation of tongues. Amongst these was Sir Edwin Rich, whose behaviour was good, and well spoken of in every place where he came; not straining his credit to borrow money, but well provided to serve his own turn, answering to his birth, state, and disbursements for the time. Sir Anthony, then taking the title of ambassador, during four months' abode in Saffi, kept open house, invited all Christian merchants daily, both to dinner and supper. To supply his own turn for money, he got credit of

* Collections of things most memorable in the History of Barbary. Written by Ro. C. Purchas, book 6. c. 1. s. 3.

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Jews to take up money, to pay them in Morocco, but at excessive rate, almost fifty for a hundred. He bought, likewise, of an English merchant's factor, being at dinner with him, at two or three words, a ship of a hundred and sixty ton, with all her lading, being wheat; paying him in hand two thousand ounces, and if he were not paid the rest of his money within ten days after his arrival in Morocco, then the buyer to lose his earnest. But before he went up, Abdelmelich returning from Fez, by reason of his soldiers' treason, the King of Fez marched towards Morocco some four days' journey, and there gave siege unto a port town called Sallee, and took it, but the castle he could not win. So the Alkeyd of the castle wrote to Muley Boferes, that though the town were lost, the castle he would keep for him, if he sent three hundred quarters of corn to victual his men, and a fresh supply of fifty soldiers. Boferes, loath to lose the place, and hearing Sir Anthony had bought a ship of corn, wrote to Saffi, and willed him to send his ship to Sallee, and there to unlade her corn for the relief of the castellan and his soldiers. Sir Anthony, willing to do the King a favour, sent for the captain and merchant of the ship, and willed them to go for Sallee, and paying them for three hundred quarters, dealt so that thither they

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went; but the castle being yielded before they came, the captain and merchant landed neither men nor corn, but returned to Saffi.

By this time were sent, for the conduct of the ambassador, five hundred men, under the command of two Alkeyds. Unto every soldier Sir Anthony gave a turbith, as a livery of his love, which made them respect and honour him exceedingly; insomuch, that one of the two Alkeyds not hastening to conduct the ambassador up to Morocco, Sir Anthony desirous to set forward, and the soldiers, willing to pleasure him, fell to mutiny in regard of the Alkeyd's slackness, killing two of his men, to hasten their master forward. After his four months' abode in Saffi, wherein his bounty was extraordinary, not to his countrymen only, but to Flemish, French, and Spanish, admired of his soldiers, he was received into Morocco in great state; having by the way, as also during his abode in Saffi, divers letters from the King, extolling his honourable endeavours, and approved valiantness in his far-famed adventures both by sea and land, not omitting any courtship to win his love, or make him doubt his welcome.

After two days' stay in the city, the king made preparation for his entertainment at court, whither he went, suiting his followers as well as the shortness of the time could suffer, and his credit with the

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Christian merchants could afford, which was good; for two Spaniards were so wrapt with admiration of his worth, and by his speeches allured with so strange hope, that they fell in emulation, whether should do him more services, or help him to more money. Reasonably attended, he rode to court, not lighting from his horse where the king's sons usually do, but rode through the Mushward, which is the King's great hall, wherein most of his lords, gentlemen, and chief sort of people do attend when they come to court, which none but the King himself doth. Being come into the King's presence, his letters of credit were received with great show of kindness, and himself entertained with all gracious respect, not only at the King's hands, but of the principallest men in office or favour, about the court, and so for that time was dismissed, the chiefest men attending him back to the place where he took horse. Some five days after, Sir Anthony Sherley coming to audience, and thinking to have ridden in as he did before, a chain was hung across the entrance of the Mushward, which he perceiving only done to hinder his passage, would not alight from his horse, but returned back very discontented. This being certified to Boferes, presently three of his chiefest Alkeyds were sent to qualify the matter. But Sir Anthony took the disgrace not as his own, but his

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whose person he represented; telling the Alkeyds, his master, the Emperor, was able and would requite the injury; neither did he fear, though now within the power of Boferes, knowing the greatness of him in whose service he was employed, so far surpassing the King of Morocco, as, maugre the proudest, he would be fetched from thence, and be fully revenged of the least injury done unto him. The three Alkeyds laid the blame upon the King's porter, offering Sir Anthony the porter's head if he would have it; so spending an hour to pacify his choler, and bring him back, the porter before his face was sore beaten and imprisoned, neither ever after was he hindered of riding through the Mushward.

During his abode in Morocco, which was five months, Boferes and he had divers private conferences, as it was generally thought, which way to keep him in the kingdom against his two brethren, Sheck and Sidan; as also to give the great Turk a blow, to drive him out of Argiers and Tunis. From Morocco Sir Anthony departed, with great content to himself, and good liking of Boferes, of whom he bought two Portugal gentlemen for a hundred and fifty thousand ounces [of silver], which amounteth to some ten thousand pound sterling. These two had been captives in Morocco almost sixteen years; the

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one son to the Viceroy of the East Indies, the other of a noble house in Portugal. The first had his resgat thrice sent for to ransom him, out of the East Indies, but twice it was taken by the English, and once by the Flemings, during our late wars with them: the other his brethen drove him off for his resgat, either to save so much money, or not able to pay so great a fine. To accompany him from the court to Saffi, was sent one of the King's gentlemen ushers, to whom, at his parting, he threw him his hat which he wore, from his head, with a jewel of great value, rewarding largely all the usher's followers. For his guard, the ways being then very dangerous, was sent down with him four hundred shot, under the command of Alkeyd Abdela Sinko, a Portugal Renegado, which is a Christian turned Moor. This man, whether by persuasion, or voluntarily desiring to see his native country, in the night got aboard of the ship Sir Edwin Rich was in, not Sir Anthony's; the ship presently weighing anchor, made sail for Spain, but the other remaining with Sir Anthony in the harbour.

This dealing was taken in ill part, insomuch, that five of his men, being sent to shore for certain provision which they lacked, were clapped up in prison, and sent in chains to Morocco, but afterwards released. Sir Anthony writing to the King, both to

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clear himself of the fact, and desiring remedy for these his new sustained grievances, set a good show upon the matter, staid four days after the other ship which had carried away the Alkeyd, and would have tarried until he had his five men again, but that he was written unto to be gone, by an especial friend ashore advising him he did not well to ride so long in the port, divers Flemish men of war being abroad; and if any should chance to come in there, as seldom it is without, they, finding these two gentlemen as prizes, would seize upon them; and then was there lost thirty-five thousand ounces of silver, which a merchant's factor had lent Sir Anthony Sherley to clear him out of the country; for which the factor had the two Portugals bound to pay this debt at their arrival at Lisbon. Upon this advertisement he departed, and the next day Boferes sent him a letter to clear his men."

Sir Anthony's subsequent movements are not recorded; but it appears from Wadsworth's *English and Spanish Pilgrim*,* that, amongst the English resident at the Court of Spain about the year 1625, "the first and foremost is Sir Anthony Sherley, who stiles himself Earl of the sacred Roman Empire, and hath from his Catholic Majesty a pension of 2000

* Published 1630.

Sir Anthony Sherley

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ducats per annum, all which, in respect of his prodigality, is as much as nothing. This Sir Anthony Sherley is a great plotter and projector in matters of state, and undertakes, by sea-stratagems, to invade and ruinate his native country, a just treatise of whose actions would take up a whole volume." To what stratagems Wadsworth alludes, in the last sentence, we cannot even conjecture; but so indefinite a charge deserves no attention when proceeding from a man who was himself a mere bigot, and whose authority can therefore be of very little value in estimating the motives or conduct of a man of such an heroic cast as Sir Anthony Sherley.

The honours received by Sir Anthony, and the consequence attached to him abroad, excited the displeasure or jealousy of James I. at home, who ordered him to return to England—a mandate which Sherley did not think fit to obey. According to Grainger, he died in Spain in 1630.

Such is the history, so far as we have been able to collect it, of this princely-minded gentleman. He seems to have been formed in a mould peculiarly well calculated for heroic adventure. Born at a period when the spirit of chivalry yet lingered in the land, he united daring courage with political knowledge and statesman-like accomplishments: of a grave and imposing exterior, and of a dignified and command-

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SIR ROBERT SHERLEY.

From Lord Egremont's Picture.

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ing deportment, he possessed a singular power of attracting the affections of men.

SIR ROBERT SHERLEY.

The next shoot from the ancient stock of the Sherleys, whose fortunes we shall accompany, is Sir Robert Sherley, a gentleman whose adventures are only less extraordinary than those of his brother, Sir Anthony. For this reason, and because he is more intimately connected with the preceding relation than his elder brother, Sir Thomas Sherley, we have determined on placing him, though youngest in birth, the second in historical order.

Mr. Nicholls,* in a pedigree of the Sherleys of Westneston, places the birth of Sir Robert Sherley in the year 1564; but on what authority does not appear. Indeed, there is reason to believe, that this date is erroneous. By an inscription on an engraved portrait of Sir Robert Sherley, it appears that he entered Rome on the 28th September, 1609, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, which would make his birth in the year 1581. In corroboration of this evidence, we have the testimony of Sir Anthony, who, in speaking of his voyage to Persia, in 1599, observes, "I had my brother with me, a

* *History of Leicestershire*, v. iii. p. 723.

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young gentleman, whose affection to me had only led him to that disaster, and the working of his own virtue, desiring, in the beginning of his best years, to enable himself to those things which his good mind raised his thoughts unto."*

Sir Anthony would certainly not have used language like this, if his brother had been born in 1564, consequently, thirty-five years of age, and only one year younger than himself. Indeed, Sir Robert is, throughout Sir Anthony's travels, treated as a youth, and to whom his elder brother, on his quitting Persia, thinks it necessary to give special instructions, as to his studies and behaviour; and Sir Robert, also, in speaking of himself at this period, states, that his years were but few. On the other hand, Herbert,† who was with him when he died in 1627, remarks, that he was old and unable for further service, and that, at the time of his death, he had not exceeded his great climacteric. It is difficult to reconcile Herbert's observation with our conjecture, unless we suppose that the climate of the East had produced a premature old age. If the inscription on the print, however, is entitled to any authority, the question is decided; but, even supposing it to be erroneous, we think there are sufficient

* *Sir Anthony Sherley's Travels*, p. 20.

† *Herbert's Travels.*

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grounds for assigning a later date than 1564, for his birth.

There is another mistake in the biography of this gentleman. It is asserted in *Stow's Chronicles* continued by Howes, (anno 1612,) and is repeated by Baker, and other subsequent writers, "that Sir Robert Sherley, about sixteen years ago, (that is, about 1596,) betook himself to travel, and served divers Christian princes, for the space of five years; but chiefly under Rodolphus, the Roman Emperor, who employed him in embassy, wherein he so discreetly and honourably demeaned himself, that he was made Earl of the Empire. After that, he went into Persia, and served the Persian ten years." The greater part of this statement must be founded in mistake; for, supposing that Sir Robert commenced his travels in 1596, the time fixed by this account, he could not have served "divers Christian princes for five years," and *afterwards* gone into Persia; for it is beyond question, that he went into Persia with his brother, in 1599; and it is equally clear that he was not made an Earl of the Empire before he went into Persia, the patent for that honour bearing date in 1609. The mistake has, we presume, arisen from confounding Sir Anthony and Sir Robert together; the former having commenced his public career about the time above assigned for Sir Robert "betaking himself to travel," and having been actually

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employed as ambassador, by the Emperor, in 1604.

There can be little doubt therefore, we apprehend, that the voyage to Persia was the first enterprize in which Sir Robert Sherley engaged.

The reader will recollect that Sir Anthony left his brother as a hostage for himself with Shah Abbas, who, as is stated before, requested he might remain behind. On this request being made, Sir Anthony thought it necessary to say something in favour of his brother, an account of which he gives in his *Travels*, in his usual pompous style.

"Before I could answer this infinite, favourable, and gracious speech of his, my brother (whose mind ever disposed him to the best things) having, by his own nature and excellent spirit, which in his younger years he bettered with higher studies, not as many, who, under a magnificent title, love slothful idleness, but using them in their true property, to confirm our ordinary weakness against the tempests of fortune, and to learn, by the goodly precepts of wise men, that which the frailty of man's constitution blindeth from our sight; and to esteem only good that which is honest, and evil those things which do participate with viciousness. And, though he might arrogate as much to the nobility of his blood as the best-born gentleman may, yet, (ever making estimation of that, and other such qualified ornaments

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as were without the mind, neither to be accounted amongst the special good or ill things which a man should truly behold in himself,) he hath and doth contend more with himself to be worthy of the best titles, than to be esteemed by those he hath, contemning, equally, riches, and superfluity, and poverty, which groweth by a man's own vice; being stedfast and just in good things, and constant against all fear: and if he be guided by the height of his mind, to strive with more fervour than wariness, for glory and reputation, the best judging sort of the world know that the covetousness of that point of eternity is the last appetite, which the wisest men despoil themselves of. Neither am I induced to celebrate so much the memory of so many virtues as I know in him, because he is my brother; but absolutely am led unto it without favour or ambition, by the persuasion only of a good conscience, for the sole merit and reward of the same. That mind, I say, of his ever counselled by such thoughts, apprehending that his staying with the King might be of wonderful effect, to keep his mind constant in the resolution which he had taken; and guessing at many occasions which might happen in my absence, the well using of which might confirm him more: some, also, if they were not tempered, might cool his resolutions, (which he knew to be taken rather to satisfy me, and with an intent to see the success of the proceeding of

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things, than a more constant determination,) answered the King presently thus:—that our two souls were so unitely conjoined, that our wills were divided in nothing; our affections to his majesty and our desires to serve him were the same, and such as they could not be separated from his commandments. And though the promise of favours from him which could command, did bring ever with it the force of necessity, yet we both were so clear in the judgment of the royal disposition of his majesty, that he would neither absolutely will, nor seem to desire of us any thing but that which should be honorable for his authority, and convenient for our obedience to be done by us. The parting of both our bodies from his presence was nothing, in respect of our best parts, which ever should attend his majesty with vows and proffers and wishes, which were worthy to proceed from his true servants and friends, and as worthy of his infinite virtues; but, because he did desire to have one of us, which was himself, to remain with him, he would do it, and give his majesty so much greater occasion to love us, both by that effect of virtue which he should prove in him, tempering the necessity of his passion for his majesty's satisfaction and better purposes, which time and such occasions, as must needs be brought forth, should shew his majesty. Neither did he incline at all to do this for any feeling which he would have in

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that point of his majesty's munificences promised, but only for the sensibleness of doing well, which he thought and knew he should do by obeying his majesty in that commanding request. He did confess, notwithstanding, that the world could not lay upon him a greater adversity, than to be separated from me: yet he would never be so broken with any fortune, though it should rise from other causes, as to lose the least tittle of the dignity of his mind. His years were but few, but neither gray hairs nor wrinkles should, with so wise an understanding judgment as his majesty's, give more authority to any, than the good fruits proceeding from an honest and virtuous spending of the time which a man hath passed. He did desire no more favour with his majesty, for his staying, than his other merits should be worthy of: yet, because he was left alone without other comfort than what his own heart gave him, he would be confident that his majesty would not forget what he owed to himself as a prince, nor to him as a gentleman, which had freely matched obedience with affection."

Five of Sir Anthony's suite remained with his brother at the Persian court, where they enjoyed a high degree of favour. But, two years having elapsed, and no tidings being received of this important embassy, Shah Abbas began to regard Sir Robert with less favour than he had formerly done. The alienation of

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the Persian king was, however, but temporary, Sir Robert having contrived not only to re-establish himself in the good opinion of his majesty, but to obtain freedom of conscience for all Christians in the Persian dominions. The first public employment with which Shah Abbas honoured Sir Robert, of which we have any account, was in his wars with the Turks; a few particulars relating to this service are preserved, in a MS. fragment which we shall here transcribe.

Of Master Robert Sherley's Employment in the Wars of the Persians against the Turks, after Sir Anthony's departure—Of his Victories, and his Marriage with the King of Persia's Cousin German.

Master Robert Sherley, after his brother's departure, was Master General, and possessed the chiefest place in the King of Persia's wars against the Turks, wherein, he so valiantly bestirred himself, that the Persians gave him a crown of laurel for the victory: for being armed and made ready for fight, taking a pole-axe in his hand, he himself gave first such an honorable attempt, and so amazed and repulsed the enemies, that his soldiers, imitating his courage, put all the foes to the edge of the sword; only reserving alive some thirty of the chief commanders among them, whom he led in triumph to the King, having taken them prisoners, and forthwith dispatched a

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messenger to the Turk, with the letters to this effect: that for the redemption and liberty of one that he kept prisoner, (meaning Sir Thomas his brother, who was then undischarged,) he should command the lives of these thirty, and have them safely, without danger or ransom, delivered unto him. But envy, that hangs upon the sword-point of the Turk, did so stir up the mind to revenge, that he was so far from entertaining this proffer, as he did not only make refusal thereof, and bid him do his worst with his prisoners, but he also returned words of defiance, and menaced that the sun should not twice step from the bed of Aurora, but he would waken him with such an alarum, as should strike his whole company into wonder and amazement.

This might have daunted the mind of Robert Sherley, knowing his men to be weak and weary, and over-toiled in the last battle and victory, to be so suddenly again called unto arms; and considering the strength of his army, and that the Turk had always three hundred thousand men in readiness; but that honour (the chiefest mark he aimed at in all his actions) abandoned fear and timidity, for he no sooner received the daring threats of the Turk, and the denial of his gentle offer, but he presently cut off the heads of these thirty commanders, and, according to the custom of Persia, caused them to be carried in triumph about the market-place on the top of his

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soldier's pikes, and swore, in great choler, that that day should prove dismal to his enemy, for either he was resolved to return conqueror, or leave his carcase in the field; and, therefore, set his soldiers in array, and embattled them with all speed; who, coming within view, might conjecture, by computation, their enemies to be ten to one, which much affrighted the minds of his men; but he perceiving it, began to give them encouragement on this manner:

Master Robert Sherley, his Oration to his Soldiers.

"I need not, worthy gentlemen and soldiers of Persia, seek to encourage you with a long discourse, lest, putting oil in the flame, I should add spurs to a free horse. Your former valiant resolution manifested as well in this last, as in many other battles, assures me that were the enemies' multitude greater, yet, our quarrel good and honorable, and our minds armed with true valour, in despite of fortune, we shall, as hitherto we have done, return in triumph and victory; and for that it toucheth mine honour, I will be the first man in battle, and the last man in the field, unless death give an honorable quittance to my life. Let me be this day a mirror of your magnanimity, let my actions be your precedents; press but as far as your general, and, courage! gentlemen, the victory is ours." With that, catching a strong staff, pulling down his beaver,

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and putting spurs to his horse, he furiously rushed upon the enemy; his soldiers following with such a desperate resolution, that the Turks were amazed at his valour; for he ran without stop through the troops, and, like a lion, massacred whom he met; which the enemy perceiving, and what a great slaughter he had made amongst them, many of them fled, many laid down their weapons and yielded; the rest he put all to the sword without partiality or favour. Out of this, his second overthrow of the Turks, he again reserves alive some threescore of the chiefest of them, and sends the like proffer to the Turk for redemption.

[Here the MS. breaks off.]

In one of his engagements with the Turks, Sir Robert received three wounds. His services were not unregarded; the favour of Shah Abbas towards him became more and more confirmed, and the tokens of it more considerable. "This man's bread," says a charter granted in his favour by the Persian monarch, "is baked for sixty years."* As a further proof of his confidence, and notwithstanding the ill success of the former embassy, Shah Abbas determined to invest him with the character of Ambassador, and

* Purchas, who says he had the account from Sir Robert himself.

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to despatch him to the several princes of Christendom, for the purpose, most probably, of uniting them in a confederacy against the Turks. Of the progress of Sir Robert in this embassy, we possess but very scanty information. He probably left Persia in the latter part of 1608, or early in 1609. He first went into Poland, where he was honorably entertained by Sigismond the Third, as we learn from a small pamphlet* published in 1609, which professes to give an account of his entertainment there. This pamphlet, however, consists of nothing but eulogy, conveyed in speeches delivered by Mercury, England's complaint to Persia for her Sherley, &c.; it does not inform us of a single fact except the one just mentioned, and that his agent, Master Moore, was arrived in England, "bringing happy tidings of this famous English Persian, as also of his coming to England, to the exceeding joy of his native country."

In June, in the same year, he was in Germany, and received the title of Earl Palatine, having previously had the honour of Earl of the Sacred Palace

* Sir Robert Sherley sent Ambassador, in the name of the King of Persia, to Sigismond the third King of Poland and Suecia, and to other princes of Europe. His royal entertainment into Cracovia, the chief city of Poland, with his pretended [used for intended] coming into England. Also the honorable praises of the same Sir Robert Sherley, given unto him in that kingdom, are here likewise inserted. London, black letter, 4to. 1699, reprinted in Harl. MSS. v. iii.

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of Lateran, and Chamberlain, conferred upon him by Pope Paul V. accompanied with the singular, and, it appears, profitable power of legitimating all bastards, the brief for which Purchas informs us he had seen. "But," continues he, "the imperial grant (to me of more respect and validity) I have here delivered verbatim, translated out of the original Latin, &c., the rather because I have seen the same title given him by his majesty in his letters commendatory to other princes, and subscribed with his own royal hand and name, JACOBUS."* The patent, bearing date the 2nd June, 1609, and granted by Rodolphus II. Emperor of the Romans, &c. is addressed to "Count Robert Sherley, Knight and Earl of the Sacred Palace of Lateran, the assigned Ambassador to us of Abbas, King of Persia;" it recites, that Sir Anthony Sherley, and others, had been sent Ambassadors to the Emperor from Persia, and concludes by creating Sir Robert, Knight of the Roman Empire, and honoring him with the title of Earl Palatine, with powers equal to the prerogative of sovereigns; those powers being to appoint public notaries or registers; to legitimate all bastards (the children of great Princes, Earls, and Barons only excepted), and to restore the infamous, by fact or law, to their former credit.

* Purchas.

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From the print before mentioned, it appears that Sir Robert did not make his public entry into Rome until the September following: he afterwards proceeded into Spain. It was not until 1611, that he arrived in England; to which event, the want of information as to his employment of the intermediate time, obliges us to pass. Honest John Stow must here take up the tale. After stating what is before quoted, and that Shah Abbas had given in marriage to Sir Robert, "Teresia, the daughter of Ismy Hawn, Prince of the City of Hircassia Major," he proceeds to give an account of what he was much more likely to be better informed, than of the circumstances with which he commences his relation. "The Persian," he continues, "employed him, unto sundry princes in Europe, and sent him in especial embassy into England, unto King James; he arrived here in summer, 1611, and the 2nd of October following, he had audience at Hampton Court, where he delivered his letters, and shewed his commission. All which purported the Persian's great love and affection unto his majesty, with hearty desire of amity with the King of Great Britain, with frank offer of free commerce unto all his Highness's subjects throughout all the Persian's dominions, &c. This Earl Sherley was entertained and respected as an honorable ambassador: he brought hither with him Teresia his wife, big with child, who was shortly after

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delivered of a son, unto whom the Queen was godmother, and Prince Henry * was godfather, who called the child, Henry, after his own name. The ambassador staid in England above a year after that, and having received the King's gracious letters to the Persian, by which time, as his Majesty had appointed, there was a well-furnished ship provided to transport him, his wife and servants, into the parts of the East Indies, and to land him as near the Persian dominions as they could: and, upon his departure from the ship, that then, as the King had ordained, they should deliver unto the ambassador £500, in money, to bear his charge by land, and do him what farther kindness they could. He embarked at Dover, this

* Sir Robert wrote the following letter to the prince, requesting him to do him this honour.

"MOST RENOWNED PRINCE,—The great honours and favours it hath pleased your highness to use towards me, hath emboldened me to write these few lines, which shall be to beseech your highness to christen a son which God hath given me. Your highness in this shall make your servant happy, whose whole longing is to do your highness some signalated service, worthy to be esteemed in your princely breast. I have not the pen of Cicero, yet want I not means to sound your highness's worthy praises into the ears of foreign nations and mighty princes; and I assure myself, your high-born spirit thirsts after fame, the period of great princes' ambition. And further, I will ever be your highness's most humble, and most observant servant,

"ROBERT SHERLEY."

"London, this 4th November, 1611.

"*To the high and mighty Prince of Wales.*"

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month of January 1612. He left his son Henry in England. Captain Thomas Powel of Hertfordshire, whom the King now honored with knighthood, accompanied the ambassador both coming and going. He was colonel of 700 horse under the Persian. He, at this time, married an English woman, who went over with him. Captain Newport was selected captain of the ship for transportation of this lord ambassador and his retinue; and, because his voyage is extraordinary from others, I have here set it down very briefly. They went hence by the Canaries, and in April they came to the cape of Bona Speranza, where they refreshed themselves with water and victual. From thence they sailed to the great island called St. Laurence, formerly called Madagascar, where they took in fresh water again. From thence they went to an island called Mohelia, and there they refreshed themselves with all manner of delicate flesh and pleasant fruits. This is one of the most pleasant and fertile places in the world. And from thence they sailed into Arabia Felix, unto a city called Dophar, where, through extreme foul weather, they remained there twenty-eight days; and from thence they sailed into the mouth of the gulph of Persia, where it was meant the lord ambassador should have landed, but finding the place very inconvenient, they sailed thence to Godel, where a revolted duke from the Persian, with his forces being there, sought, treacherously,

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to surprise the ambassador, and to take the ship with the merchants, their goods and all; but, by God's providence, the duke's treason was discovered by a Persian hermit, by which means the English were miraculously delivered from extreme danger. From this place they set sail again, and went into the river Synde, where Captain Newport very safely landed the lord ambassador, and Sir Thomas Powel, with their wives, and all their company that embarked with them from England, where they were most joyfully and honourably received of the governor and of the inhabitants of the country, which country is under the Great Mogul, upon the borders of Persia."*

In 1623, Sir Robert Sherley again arrived in England, as ambassador from Shah Abbas. Sir John Finnett,† master of the ceremonies to James I., gives a curious and amusing description of his reception at the English court, and of the occasion of his departure.

* Walter Payton gives a more particular detail of this voyage to Persia, but his relation possesses no particular interest. Vol. i., p. 488.

† *Finnetti Philoxenis.* Some choice observations of Sir John Finnett, knight, and master of the ceremonies to the two last kings, touching the reception and precedence, the treatment and contests of foreign ambassadors in England. Legati ligant Mundum.—Lond. 8vo. 1656.

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"The 19th of January, [1623-4,] having received directions from my Lord Chamberlain to repair to Newmarket for attendance of Sir Robert Sherley, (arrived ambassador from the King of Persia) to his audience, which, by his majesty's appointment, he was to have there, with the advantage and commodity of his near abode at Saxham (his first rest after his landing and long travels, and whence his sister, the Lady Crofts, sent to me to London, to prepare his access to his majesty.) As soon as he was come to court I sent my man to him, with notice of my coming thither to serve him; and having received answer of his desires to be despatched for his speedy return, I acquainted both the Duke of Buckingham and master Secretary Conway with the cause of my coming, and the address I had from my Lord Chamberlain to him, too, for my further government. So, the 27th of January, I was sent to Saxham with the King's coach only, and five gentlemen (the King's servants); and parting thence the next morning early, in obedience of a command sent post to me thither from my Lord Duke after midnight, that the King, having assigned the audience for the afternoon, would have me bring the ambassador by ten in the forenoon, we came with three coaches, besides the King's, to court, where, conducting him immediately up to the prince's privy chamber, (which, in absence of his highness, was purposely hung for honour to the ambassador,) he was

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fetched thence by the Earl of Anglesea, through the privy chamber, and the withdrawing chamber (where the duke met him) into the King's bed-chamber. There, having made his two first respects of approach with his turban on (his whole habit being Persian), at the third, he took it off and laid it at the King's feet, and made his speech of entrance kneeling, 'till the King, willing him to arise and cover, he did, and presented his letters of credence (written in the Persian language), and un-understood for want of an interpreter, no where then to be found in England. After this, having gracious words and countenances from his majesty, he returned, accompanied as he came, to the prince's lodgings, where master Secretary Conway, repairing to him, entertained him an hour with discourse concerning the propositions of his negociation (which he had a little before delivered to him, and the duke, in writing), and so returned to Saxham. Immediately upon this ambassador's arrival at court, I acquainted the duke with his intention to lay his turban at the King's feet (though he said he had kept it always on in the presence of the Emperor and the King of Spain), and thereby made way for his majesty's allowance of his covering, which, it was otherwise doubted, would not have been permitted in regard of his natural subjection, though in his former employment into England, when he wore his own

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country habit, he had been, after some question about it, allowed to cover in the King's presence.

"The 12th of February, he came to London with my attendance, in company of his sister Crofts and others, met between Tottenham and Newington with six coaches, whereof one with four horses was hired by me, at the King's charges, by my lord Chamberlain's permission, for that day only, his lordship saying, he had yet no order for it from his majesty.

"The 14th of February, having received an assignation for his audience of the prince, at Saint James's (his highness's coach and two horses being commanded to be ready there at twelve o'clock), I found there the Earl of Arundel (son to the Lord Marquis Hamilton, and gentleman of the prince's bedchamber) with six or seven more of his highness's servants, that had received orders for his conduction to his presence. We went thence to the ambassador's lodgings in Fleet Street, and there, meeting the Lord North and some gentlemen of his kindred, we brought him to the prince's presence-chamber at Saint James's, where, his highness standing ready to receive him, the ambassador entered, performing all his reverences with his turban on, bowing himself low at his second reverence, and touching the ground with his right hand, and then his head. When come near the prince, who stood uncovered,

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he fell on his knee, but, instantly raised by his highness, he fell to the complimental part, and from that to the earnest of his errand, which, offered to the prince's consideration in writing, he retired as he entered, and returned to his home with the conduction mentioned.

"The 13th of April, [1625,] I conducted the Persian ambassador (Sir Robert Sherley) from his lodging at Tower Hill to an audience of his majesty, at Whitehall. Descending at the great gate of the court, I brought him (as I had my directions from the Lord Chamberlain) through the dark passage, from the sermon court to the council chamber, on the late Queen's side, whence, going to the King's privy chamber, I there gave notice of the ambassador's arrival to a gentleman-usher of that chamber (all further passage being begun then to be debarred to all but privy councillors and bed-chamber men), who, conveying my intimation to my Lord Chamberlain, in the privy galleries, I had a charge returned, that, conducting him, by the way of the late Queen's lodging, to his majesty in his withdrawing chamber, no other but myself should go along with him; this obeyed, he passed with his majesty some few words of condoling compliment, and returned by the way he entered.

"About the middle of February, [1625-6,] the merchants of the East Indian company, having signified to his majesty, that a ship (long held for lost, and then

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arrived at Portsmouth) had brought in her an ambassador from the King of Persia, obtained his majesty's coach (with the Earl of Warwick, the Master of the Ceremonies, and other gentlemen, the King's servants, in it,) for his reception at Kingston, and transport to London. These merchants (with an affected honour beyond that done to the other Persian ambassador, Sir Robert Sherley) had procured the King's coach to be drawn with eight horses (as, with the more grace to the latter, to disgrace the former). He came to London the 19th of February, and was lodged (the merchants defraying him) in the house of Alderman Holliday, then deceased. There, resting himself two days, his audience was solicited and assigned for Shrove Tuesday following, which suspected by Sir Robert Sherley and, is friends to be a plot of the merchants, by so hastening an audience, to prevent his repair to court, and to prepossess the King with the new ambassador's reports, he entreated the Earl of Cleveland (husband to his niece) to accompany him at a visit he would bestow on the said ambassador for his welcome, and for the declaring of his own quality of ambassador from the same King, from whom he had so long negociated here under that title. To this purpose the Earl of Cleveland addressing himself to the Lord Chamberlain for his favour in procuring from the Lord Conway (Principal Secretary) the letters of credence brought to King

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James by Sir Robert Sherley, the Lord Chamberlain excepted his meddling in it as being, he said, no duty of his place. From him the Earl of Cleveland went to the Duke of Buckingham, and, by his means, obtained allowance from his majesty for the Lord Conway to impart them for so much use and sight as might serve the ambassador Sherley's turn for the other's satisfaction; so as my Lord Cleveland having gotten them into his hands, he, the morning that the new-come ambassador was, in the afternoon, to have audience, departed with the King's coach, and seven other (eight or nine gentlemen and myself accompanying him) to Sir Robert Sherley's lodging on Tower-hill, whence, being ready to set forth towards the other ambassador's, I propounded the fitness of sending to him before (to avoid the incivility, as it might be interpreted, of a surprise), with signification of our instant coming to him to visit him. To this his answer met us on the way, without other compliment than that we might come. Entering the hall, where he then was sitting in a chair, on his legs doubled under him, after the Persian posture, and affording no motion of respect to any of us, Sir Robert Sherley gave him a salutation, and sat down on a stool near him, while my Lord of Cleveland, by an interpreter, signified, in three words, the cause of the ambassador Sherley's and his and our coming to him, but, with little return of regard from him, 'till I, informing

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the interpreter of the new ambassador what my lord's quality was, he let fall his trussed-up legs from his chair, and made a kind of respect to his lordship. This done, Sir Robert Sherley, unfolding his letters, and (as the Persian use is in reverence to their King) first touching his eyes with them, next holding them over his head, and after kissing them, he presented them to the ambassador, that he, receiving them, might perform the like observance: when he, suddenly rising out of his chair, stept to Sir Robert Sherley, snatched his letters from him, tore them, and gave him a blow on the face with his fist; and while my Lord of Cleveland, stepping between, kept off the offer of a further violence, the Persian's son, next at hand, flew upon Sir Robert Sherley, and, with two or three blows more, overthrew him; when master Maxwell, of the bed-chamber, and my Lord of Cleveland, nearest to him, pulling him back (while we, of the company, laid hands on our swords, but not drawing them, because not any one sword or dagger was drawn by the Persians), my Lord of Cleveland remonstrated to the ambassador the danger and insolency of the fact, saying, "that if he, and the gentlemen there with him, had not borne more respect to that King whom he represented, than he, the ambassador, had done to the letters shewn him for justification of the other's quality, neither he, nor those about him, that had committed that insolency, should

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have gone alive out of that place.' After these words he made some show of acknowledgement, and said, 'he was sorry he had offended his lordship and us by this act which he had performed, transported with extreme rage against a person that had dared to counterfeit the King, his master's, hand, which was always,' he said, 'set on the top of his letters, when these letters, he had shewed him, had it on the back side; and to hear, as he had done, that so mean a fellow, and an impostor, should presume to say, he had married the King, his master's, niece.' To this Sir Robert Sherley (who was in the mean time retired behind the company, amazed and confounded with his blow and treatment,) stept in and answered, 'that he had never said he had married the King's niece, but the Queen's kinswoman; and that for the manner alleged of signing his letters, it was true, that the King of Persia, in all employments of his own subjects to foreign princes, or in writing to them, used to sign above, in front of his letters; but that when he employed a stranger to any foreign prince, his signature was usually affixed on the back side of his letters, that, before their opening, they might shew who sent them.' To this the ambassador replied with scornful looks only. We all, with little or no respects to him, departed, and, conducting Sir Robert Sherley to his lodging, accompanied the Earl of Cleveland instantly to court, where, finding the Duke of Buckingham in

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the presence chamber (the King being even then come forth to dinner), his lordship acquainted his majesty with our adventure; and I received present order to let Sir Lewis Lewkner know 'that he should instantly repair to the new-come Persian ambassador, and tell him, that his audience for that afternoon was thought fit to be suspended and remitted to another day, that his majesty might be particularly informed of the causes of the disagreement and disorder happened.' The greatest blot and fault of this ado was cast upon Sir Robert Sherley, for his default in his resolution not to return with blows, or words at least, the affront done him; which, had he done, he would have confirmed the truth of his representative quality, and not given subject (from such weakness and want of spirit discovered by him) to the merchants to dispute, as they confidently did, and to his own friends to defend the soundness of his commission; yet, at length, he, writing to his majesty, and beseeching him to send him into Persia, with his two letters tied about his neck, for trial, whether they were true or false, the world began to have a conceit of his unjust sufferance, and the King to charge it home to the merchants, with his command and especial pleasure, signified to them, that he should be sent along in their fleet, then ready to part for the East Indies, and be, by them, landed in Persia, there to make his purgation; which they, though unwillingly, as-

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sented to, and pressing for the other ambassador's audience, he had it, after eight or ten days' delay, assigned and given him the 6th of March, fetched to it by the Earl of Warwick, &c. Entering the banquetting house, where his majesty stood under the state to receive him, without one look or gesture of respect, 'till, coming close to the King's person, he clapt his letters to his eyes, one after the other, kissed them, and pressed them to the hands of his majesty; but not so much as bowing his body at their delivery, only having finished his little ceremony, he, in his retreat, after some twenty paces made with his back to the King, turned about, and, waving his hand on each side imperiously, as commanding a prospect hindered by the multitude that pressed in between his sight and the King's, he made a kind of a stooping reverence, so—a second, and a third, and departed. When, understanding that the Queen was gone abroad (whom he meant to visit), he employed the time awhile in a walk with all his coaches about Saint James's park, and, returning, saw her majesty. The next day, I brought the other ambassador (Sir Robert Sherley) to a private audience of his majesty, in his withdrawing chamber. After many contestations between the merchants and the ambassador Sherley, whether he were to be defrayed by them as the King required, or by the King; since his majesty

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had intimated his resolution, that he should be transported into Persia in the fleet that was to pass for the East Indies in the beginning of May, and in them also the other ambassador. That time being come of their departure, they both arrived too late at the place of their embarking, the Downs, for performance of that voyage in that season, the fleet, that could no longer stay for them, being already gone, though Sir Robert Sherley had gotten the start of the other, and embarked in a pinnace of the fleet, together with Sir Dormer Cotton employed by his majesty, at the same time, ambassador to the King of Persia, both for truth, whether Sherley were, or not, an impostor, and also to fix a trade there, which the other ambassador came to negociate; so as they were all forced to return to London, and there attend the opportunity of departure in March, ten months after; when, beginning their voyage (the two differing ambassadors in several ships) they all three died on the way, and with them the quarrel, and inquiry, after it."

Finnett is wrong in stating that they all three died on the passage, an error in which he has been followed by Fuller.

The history of Sir Robert Sherley, from this period to the time of his death, is to be found in the Travels of Thomas Herbert, who accompanied the parties

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on their voyage to Persia. From Herbert, therefore, we extract an account of the closing scene of Sir Robert Sherley's life.

"The 29th November, 1626, we came to an anchor in India. Nogdibeg, the King of Persia's ambassador, gave up the ghost, having poisoned himself wilfully, in four days, feeding only upon opium.

"The truth is, he dared not to see his master, nor plead his defence against his adversary, Sir Robert Sherley, in our company, and thitherward—to purge his honour.

"The 10th of January, Sir Robert Sherley entered Gombroon, after our arrival there out of the Gulph of Persia: which known, the Sultan of the town came to visit him. Sir Robert Sherley being ambassador from the Persian, and speaking the Turkish tongue, demanded of him pomp and entertainment for Sir Dormer Cotton, ambassador from our sovereign, as also horses, mules, and camels for his journey to the court, which he grudged at, the King then being at the Caspian Sea. But upon sight of his phirman (or letter of command) he agreed willingly, and accordingly provided for him.

"At his landing, the captains of the English ships, (riding there) gave him a hundred culverin shot, for a farewell from them. At his going up to the town, the Sultan, the Shah-bender, (or King of the port) and many Couzel-bashaes (or horsemen of the best rank),

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met him, and very civilly conveyed him to the town. The castle of Gombroon gave him ten great shot.

"All the way from the water-side to the Sultan's house, we rode twixt two ranks of Persian archers and musquetiers, where our ambassador, the gentlemen his followers, and sea-captains, were welcomed to a very neat and curious banquet, and music from the ships. Thence we rode to the English agent's house, where we received a second entertainment; and, after fourteen days' repose, we began our land travel into Persia, furnished with twenty-nine camels and twenty horses by the Sultan, who, after a piscash, or present, given him, (five miles accompanying us) returned.

"At our entrance into his (the Duke's) metropolis, (Shiraz) he was two days' journey thence, at his house of pleasure. Sir Robert Sherley rode to him, to acquaint him of our ambassador's being there: he knew it well enough, and thought we should attend his leisure: so, after we had reposed six days in the city, our ambassador acquainted Shacke Aly-Beg with his desire to part. 'What,' replied he, 'would you go, ere you see the duke's face?' He answered, 'his business swayed him to another end; he came to see his master.' So, the next day, the duke came to Shiraz, followed with two thousand horses, and rested two days, without sending or taking notice of us.—At length, he sent a gentleman to our ambassador

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with a compliment of welcome, and bade him to visit him. Our ambassador sent him word, he had come so great a journey as excused him: if the duke would please to ride thither, he was his servant.

"The duke stormed exceedingly to see his greatness slighted, and, after a pause, fearing to affront him, (because the King of Persia had before hand wrote to him and others through his kingdoms, as we travelled, to respect us,) sent word, he would come next day and see him: but he did not; his son (a gentleman of eighteen years old) came to excuse his father, and, without any stay, departed. Next day our ambassador sent the duke's son word, by Shacke Aly-Beg, he would trouble him; the duke was not well pleased his son should have the visit, so that, at our ambassador's alighting, we were conveyed into the duke's gallery, which was very long, and richly furnished with plate, rich carpets, dancing wenches, and Ganymedes.

"The duke was set at the very end, cross-legged, like a tailor; but his fierce aspect and bravery denied that title. He stirred not one foot, 'till our ambassador was at him, and then, standing up, embraced him: we had wine, women, and a banquet to accompany us; and, after two hours' stay, departed.

"Next day (being the two and twentieth of March), we were invited to a solemn and royal banquet.

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"We were ushered into the banquetting-house, a large open room and supported with twenty pillars, richly gilded, the roof of embossed gold, the ground spread with rich silk carpets: this looked into a large four-squared court, round which were placed the prime men of the city, and in another court five hundred common people, all which the duke had invited to declare his greatness.

"The banquetting hall had a state, at the end, of crimson satin, embroidered with pearls and gold, under which he sat directly upon the carpets, cross-legged; on his right hand was placed the Prince of Tartary, on the left our ambassador; nex him sat the duke's eldest son, or Beglerbeggee (whose head, three years after, viz. in the year 1632, was struck off, at command of the young King, upon small reason), and, to him, the captived King of Ormus (who has five marks a day allowed for his maintenance); near him sat the two desolate princes, his sons, in whose company we were placed, such as were gentlemen.

"On the other side, next to the Prince of Tartary, sat the Prince of Georgia, a gentleman of as brave a look as ever looked, and no less brave in arms: his faith is Christian. During their stay they were sad and melancholy, whose being there, I could perceive, was more to content others than themselves.

"The rest of the hall was filled with Sultans, chief

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merchants, and Coozel-bashaws, the banquet was very costly and plentiful, of candied dried meats, dates, preserved pears, pistachioes, almonds, duroyens, quinces, apricots, myrobalans, jacks, and a hundred other fruits and spices; the Ganymedes, young boys in wanton habits, poured out wine to such as loved it.

At the end of the banquet, the people without gave a great shout, crying, Yough Ally Whoddaw Bashat (which was, God be thanked!) Then the Duke himself entered, with thirty slaves, in crimson satin quilted coats and turbans, every turban wreathed about with chains of rubies, turquoises, emeralds, and the like, of great lustre and value. The Duke himself was attired in a coat embroidered with silver; upon it he had a vest or gown of great length, so thick powdered with Oriental glittering stones that the ground of it could scarce be seen, and it was invaluable; his tulipant and sandals had like lustre. His not entering till the banquet was finished so grieved our ambassador, that when he came (all the company bowing their heads to the ground) he sat still as discontented. For the truth is, the Duke forbare, of purpose, that his people might wonder at his greatness.

Sir Robert Sherley, bending very low, made bold to drink to him in a bowl of pure gold, which the Duke bid him accept of for his pains; the Duke,

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perceiving our ambassador so silent, smiled upon him, drunk his health, and, after a few compliments, departed.

Our Ambassador's Entrance into Ispahan.

We entered Ispahan the tenth of April, and I shall truly relate the order of our entertainment. Three miles short of the great city, we were entreated to repose an hour in a garden of the King's, where we had a banquet. Thither came the agent, and some English factors, to wait upon our Lord Ambassador. Thence, riding in good equipage, the Sultan of Ispahan, Meloym-beg, the Treasurer, Hodgee-Nazarr, the Prince of the Armenian Christians, with all the Beglerbegs and Coozel-bashaws of the city, accompanied with 4000 horsemen, came to welcome us. The fields and streets, for two miles, were filled, in our passage, with Bannyans and women from the city, ten thousand at the fewest, who, as we past, cried "welcome," and shouted strongly: amongst the horse were above forty kettle-drums, and tabrets, nor wanted the whores and boys their places, all which, with antique dances, made the ceremony more notable.

After our arrival in the city, we alighted at the King's palace, which is in the great Mydan, or market place. Meloym-beg and Sir Robert Sherley kneeled down three times, and kissed the threshold,

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or ground, at the first entrance; which done, a soldier made an oration; so we past to our lodging, which was one of the King's best houses, and near the water. The Emperor or Pot-shaugh of Persia was then at the Caspian Sea. The 14th of April, four days after our stay in Ispahan, the agent for the English merchants invited us to a banquet, where he shewed a hearty entertainment; and to honour his feast the more, he had, at night, a pond of water set round with wax-lights, and spent many squibs and fireworks, which, flying high, made all the city wonder.

Next day, we invited ourselves to Hodgee-Nazarr, the Armenian Prince, who has the sole rule of a small city, called Jelphea, whose inhabiters are all Christians. This Jelphea is on the other side the water, and seated, in the same sort, as Southwark is to London. Hodgee-Nazarr was glad to see us, and gave us royal welcome: amongst other meat, we had a pig roasted, (a meat abhorred by Mahometans and Jews); the wine bottles and flat cups we drunk in, were of pure gold.

After our ambassador had reposed himself four days in Asharaff, the King sent a Coozel-bashaw to him, with commendations, and that next day he would give him audience; accordingly, next day, which was our sabbath, and, with them, a day of ceremony, being the first day of their great fast and

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feast, (for, on that day, it is not permitted to eat or drink; but, after sun-set, they do both excessively; this feast is called Ramazan, Ramdam, or Ramadan,) our ambassador, with Sir Robert Sherley, and seven or eight English gentlemen, his followers, set forwards to the court: and this I remember, our ambassador took it ill, none came to usher him, or shew the way. For, that morning, having sent to Mahomet Ally-beg, the great favourite, to that end, the infidel returned a footman, whom our ambassador scorning, sent back, and so proceeded with his own company.

At our alighting at the court gate, an officer led us into a little place, having a pretty marble pond or tank in the centre; the rest spread with silk carpets, where our ambassador and the rest stayed two hours, and then were feasted with a dish of pelo, which is rice boiled with hens, mutton, butter, almonds, and turmerick; but how mean soever the diet was, the furniture was excellent, pure beaten gold, both dishes, covers, flaggons, cups, and the rest.

Thence we were led by many Sultans, through a large, delicate and odoriferous garden, to a house of pleasure, whose chambers both viewed the tops of Taurus and the Caspian Sea. Into this lodge we entered; the low-room was round and spacious, the ground spread with silk carpets; in the midst,

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a marble tank, full of chrystaline water (an element of no small account in those torrid habitations); and, round about the tank, vessels of pure gold, some filled with wine, others with sweet smelling flowers. Thence into a chamber, furnished in manner as the former, but with three times more vessels of gold, set there for pomp and observation. At the end sat the Pot-shaugh or great King, cross-legged, and mounted a little higher than the rest, his seat having two or three white silk shags upon the carpets. His attire was very ordinary, his tulipant could not out-value forty shillings; his coat—red calico quilted with cotton, worth very little; his sword hung in a leather belt, its handle or hilt was gold, and, in regard the King was so plain attired, most of the court had like apparel on for that day. Yet the plate and jewels in that house argued against poverty; a merchant, then there, imagined it worth twenty millions of pounds.

So soon as our Lord ambassador came to him, he, by his interpreter, delivered, briefly, the cause of his journey, which was, to congratulate his victorious success against the Turk, to renew the traffic of silk, and other things to benefit the merchants, and to see Sir Robert Sherley purge himself from those imputations laid on him by Nogdibeg, the King of Persia's late ambassador.

The King gave him a very gracious reply; and,

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whereas, he thinks it honour enough to let the Great Turk's ambassador kiss the hem of his coat, and sometimes his foot, he very nobly gave our ambassador his hand, and with it pulled him down, and seated him next to him, cross-legged; and calling for a cup of wine, drunk to his master, our famous King, at which he put off his hat, and the King, seeing it, put off his turban, and drunk the cup off, which our ambassador pledged thankfully. And the people thought it a strange thing to see their King so complimental, for it is a shame with them to be bareheaded.

The chamber, wherein he was entertained, had the sides painted and gilded very beautifully, though, indeed, the verse may be inverted, *Materia superabat opus*, and not *materiam*. Round about, with their backs to the wall, were seated fifty or sixty Beglerbegs, Sultans, and Chawns, who sit like so many statues, rather than living men. The Ganymede boys go up and down with flaggons of wine, and fill to those that covet it.

After some stay in Casbin, our ambassador, desirous of his dispatch, visited Mahomet-Aly-Beg, and by him entreated an answer to his letter. The Pagan, in short, told him, if he had any more to possess the King, he should first acquaint him, and, consequently, have an answer; to which our ambassador replied little, though discontented much;

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perceiving by this, he should have no further access unto the King, but, willing to be gone, and loth the favourite should see him daunted, he trusted him with his business; some part, the continuation of amity betwixt their masters, with some words of the merchants' traffic, and an acknowledgment from the King, that Sir Robert Sherley was his true ambassador into Europe. To the two first, Mahomet-Aly-Beg, undesired, bolted out, that he knew his master, the King of Persia, or Pot-shaugh, stood more affected to no one Prince of the world, than to our King: and that the trade and exchange betwixt their merchants was both pleasing and profitable to his King, and for Sir Robert Sherley (whose enemy Mahomet ever was), he knew and had heard the King himself say, he cared not for him, and that his embassies and messages to the Princes of Christendom were frivolous and forged; 'tis true, quoth he, the King gave him (as an argument of favour), at the Caspian Sea, a horse and garment, but it was more to satisfy the other ambassadors, than out of any respect the King had unto him. And when our lord ambassador told him, Sir Robert Sherley had the King's letter of credence, or Firman, to testify the truth of it, and that if he were an impostor, he were the veriest fool living to undertake a journey of that length and danger, knowing, withall, the King's severity. To which the

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Pagan answered not, but told him, at their meeting, he would give him ampler satisfaction, entreating him for a sight of Sir Robert's testimonial letter of credence, signed by his King, Shah Abbas, in Ispahan.

He bid him look upon it, and tell him if it had the image of a counterfeit. The malicious favourite thought it had, but, being uncertain, craved it to shew the King, which accordingly he did (if we may give credit to an enemy and infidel) unto the King three days after; who (as he told Sir Dormer Cotton) viewed them, denied them for true, and, in rage, burnt them, wishing Sir Robert Sherley to depart his kingdom, as old and troublesome. He was amazed at it, but knew no remedy.

For my own part I am verily persuaded, the King's seals and Firman* were true, and that either Maho-

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* The following is a translation of the Firman :—

"Abbas,

"The mighty star, whose head is covered with the sun, whose motion is comparable to the aërial firmament, whose Majesty is come from Asharaff, and hath dispatched the Lord Ambassadour of the English King: The command of the great King is, That his followers shall be conducted from our pallace of Casbin, to Saway, and by the Darraguod (or Major) of Saway, to the City of Coom, and by the Governour of Coom, unto the City of Cashan, &c. through all my territories. Fail not my command. I also command them a peaceable travel."

"Sealed with a Stamp of Letters in Ink."

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met-Aly-Beg juggled with him (for we had but his word, for all we knew, and never more came in presence of the King) or he might forge other letters to shew the King, else why kept he them two days without delivery? or he might have slandered the King to say he burnt them, being an act not worthy so just a prince as Abbas was reputed for.

This argument may prove his being true ambassador, because the King, hearing he came in that defence, and to clear his honour from Nogdibeg's aspersions in England, as the King gave him no apparent satisfaction, yet, because he never questioned an injury done him (that, had he been an impostor, had been one), it follows, he was guarded with innocence and truth. And, but that Nogdibeg had done Sir Robert Sherley injury, wherefore should Shah Abbas say, 'twas well for him he poisoned himself (guilty of revenge); for, had he come to the court of Persia, he would have sliced his body into as many parts as there be days in a year, and burnt them with dogs' turds in the open market-place. Again, his son, in our company, durst not come at Court, to account for his unlucky father, till Zenall Chawn, the Duke of Tyroan, his kinsman, interceded, and bribed for his peace and entrance.

The truth is, Sir Robert Sherley had deserved well from the Persian, but, being old and unable for further service, got his recompence, to be slighted in his

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honour, even then when he hoped for most thanks, and other acknowledgments. These and the like discontents (casual to mortal men) so much afflicted him, that, immediately, a fever and apoplexy overcharged him: so that, on the thirteenth of June, he gave an *ultimum vale* to this world. And wanting a fitter place of burial, was put into the earth at the door of his own house in Casbin, where he died.

He was brother to two worthy gentlemen, Sir Anthony and Sir Thomas Sherley; his age exceeded not the great climacterick; his condition was free, noble, but inconstant. He was the greatest traveller in his time, and had tasted liberally of many great Princes' favours: of the Pope he had power to legitimate the Indians; and, from the Emperor, received the honour and title of a Palatine of the Empire. His patience was better than his intellect; he was not much acquainted with the Muses, but what he wanted in philosophy, he supplied in languages. He had been servant to the Persian near thirty years, and merited much better than you see he then obtained, when he most expected it.

Though it may seem impertinent, I cannot pass by in silence, without injury to her memory, whom I so much honoured, the thrice worthy and undaunted lady Teresia, his faithful wife, to this sad time constant to our company; her faith was ever Christian, her parents so, and noble; her country Circassia,

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which joins to Georgia, and to Zinria, near the Euxine and Caspian Seas. At that time, when her husband lay dead by her, and herself very weak by a long dysentery, a Dutch painter (who had served the King of Persia twenty years) conspires with Mahomet-Aly-Beg, and pretending an engagement he was in to one Crole, a Flemming, (for some monies Sir Robert Sherley had long since borrowed of him) he is believed, and got a warrant from the Cawsee or Justice to seize upon the lady's goods, which wicked plot conld not be so private, but was known by a faithful, honest gentleman, Master Hedges, a follower of our ambassador, who straightway acquaints the lady with it, which, as she knew was false, so seemed it strange; yet, recalling herself, she tore a satin quilt with her feeble hands, and trusted him with her treasure, a cabinet, some jewels, rich stones and the like, with which he was no sooner gone, than the Pagan serjeants, with John, the Flemming, entered her chamber, carried away what was valuable or vendible, his horses, camels, vests, turbans, a rich Persian dagger and some other things; but, after a narrow search, finding no jewels (for they had seen him wear many, and 'twas them he had worried in his ostrich appetite), mad, angry, and ashamed, they departed unsatisfied.

The gentleman, when the storm was past, re-delivered her her jewels, of a double value now, cause

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of that conquest, which, had she wanted, I do not think her fortunes left her would have made up fifty pounds, a small revenue for so deserving a lady, and most useful in those uncharitable regions against woman-kind, who, though much esteemed by the Persians, yet seem rather, in those parts, created for slavery and fancy, than to enjoy liberty or praises, prizes not a little sought for and desired by those female weak ones.

After some discontents, and fourteen days' sickness of a flux, got either by eating too much fruits, or cold on Taurus, that religious gentleman, our ambassador, Sir Dormer Cotton, died in Casbin the three-and-twentieth of July, 1628. We obtained a dormitory for his body among the Armenian Christians residing there, who, with their priests, assisted us. His horse was led before, with a mourning velvet saddle on his back, his coffin had a crimson satin quilt, lined with purple silk; over him was laid his bible, sword, and hat: such of his followers, as were able, waited on it; and Doctor Gough (a reverend gentleman) put him into the ground, where, though his memory and virtue cannot die, yet I would he had a monument—a more eminent memorial.

After a month's stay in Casbin, where we left buried our two ambassadors, the King sent each of us two long coats, or vests, of cloth of gold, in sign of

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favour. And, after much attendance upon Mahomet-Aly-Beg, we got licence to depart, with letters from the Pot-shaugh, for our safer travel. He delivered us, withall, a letter to our gracious King, from the King of Persia, sewed up in a piece of cloth of gold, fastened with a silk string, and sealed with a stamp of letters, after their fashion.*

SIR THOMAS SHERLEY,

The oldest of the three brothers, was, at an early age, instructed in military discipline; and being animated by the love of arms, succeeded in obtaining the command of three hundred men in Holland. Here he behaved so gallantly, that Lord Willoughby, in 1589, conferred the honour of Knighthood upon him. This sphere of action was, however, too narrow for his ambition; "he was ashamed," says Fuller, "to see his two younger brothers worn like flowers in the breasts and bosoms of foreign princes, whilst he himself withered on the stalk he grew on. This made him leave his aged father and a fair inheritance in Sussex, and to undertake sea voyages into foreign parts, to the great honour of his nation, but small enriching of himself." Being determined to do something by which he might gain renown, and

* Sir Thomas Herbert's travels.

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having revolved many schemes in his mind, he at length resolved, in the spirit of the times, to make war against the Infidels for the honour of the religion of peace, and he accordingly undertook an expedition against the Turks. Having equipped three well-built ships, manned with 500 soldiers, he set sail, in 1602, on this religious crusade. Being driven on the coast of Italy, he proceeded to Florence, and was received with great honour at that court. After remaining a short time there, he again embarked, and bent his course towards Turkey. He had not been long at sea before he met with a large ship, with which he immediately engaged; and after protracted fight succeeded in boarding her, but the crew obstinately maintained the conflict for eight hours more, before they would surrender. Sir Thomas having, in this engagement, lost one hundred men, and the spoil being by no means equal to so great a loss, the soldiers became mutinous, and a party of them deserted with one of his ships. He then sailed to Leghorn, where, after a stay of eight days, a fresh tumult broke out amongst his crew. In order to keep them quiet, he again put to sea, but arriving off the coast of Sicily, Peacock, one of his Captains, fled with another ship, leaving him only his own vessel.*

* Genealogica Historia Domus de Shirley, Harl. MSS. 4023.

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A more detailed account of the remaining incidents, attending this adventure, is contained in a black letter fragment, in the British Museum, commencing with sig. C. It proceeds in the following words.

"*Of Sir Thomas his attempts in Turkey, and the treacherous revolt of the rest of his company.*

It is the nature of fortune seldom to be singular, either in her frowns or favours, but that one is commonly heaped on the neck of another, as appeared in the waning state of Sir Thomas's hopes. For, the next morning after this revolt of Peacock, a like part was played, even in his own ship; for the most part of his men begun a dangerous mutiny against him. They plainly told him, that they would be no longer under his command, and did absolutely refuse to follow the courses and plots that he had laid, alleging, with unkind words and uncomely speeches, that their hopes and expectations were deceived of him; that he was both uncircumspect in his attempts, and unfortunate in his actions; they utterly disliked his intendment, refusing to hear any thing that might sound of it, there being no possibility of good, and a certain and continual assurance of danger: lastly, they protested unto him that they would still keep the sea, and be no longer restrained of their own purposes, but lay hold upon all occasions

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that should be offered to enrich themselves and satisfy their longing hopes, *per fas aut nefas*, by any means whatsoever.

Sir Thomas being much perplexed with the contemptuous and unruly behaviour of his men in his own ship, first used threats and menaces, befitting his place and command; but, the mutiny being general, and that he that was their general being forsaken and left alone, he did but thereby add fuel to that fire that raged so sore in the minds and tongues of his mutinous company, that he was enforced, at last, to leave all the extent of his authority of a commander, and, as a common and a private person, with tongue, gesture and countenance unanswerable to his mind, in mild terms and gentle words, to entreat them that they would not thus despise and forsake him, whom they before had called their captain and their general, and had vowed to follow in all his fortunes. Let not, (quoth he,) the conceit of our hard success discourage your hopes, so far, as to make a desperate account both of yourselves and me; neither suffer the remembrance of those runagates that have so treacherously forsaken me, to draw you on to do the like by their example. I have made choice of you, into whose hands I have committed my life, and whatsoever is dear unto me. Two ships I have already lost, not by the unsteadfast fortunes of the sea, but by the

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unfaithful dealing of my followers. I have only this one left me, and you in it, in whom I have hitherto put an especial trust, wherein, if you likewise deceive me, let me not live any longer, lest, one day, I record the place where you, so unkindly and unmanly, forsook and betrayed your captain. We have yet a living hope of our success, which, if you kill not by your mutinous dissensions, may yet, ere long, enrich your expectations: for mine own part I shall omit nothing that may do you good, nor do any thing unfit or unworthy either your account of me, or mine own reputation.

His men, nothing satisfied with these words, but bearing still a mutinous and rebellious mind against their captain, Sir Thomas, doubting what to do, calls before him the lieutenant, the master's mate, the master gunner, and other principal officers in the ship, and demanded of them whether they joined, in mind and malice, with the company against him. They answered him that they had no such meaning, but protested unto him they were willing to follow and obey him as it should please him to dispose of them, and to partake with him in all his fortunes. Whereupon Sir Thomas, taking advantage of their proffers, joined with them in the persuasion of the rest, and so, for the time, the mutiny was appeased.

Sir Thomas, to keep his company still employed, directed his course towards Millo, with a purpose

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to have taken an English pirate that was there; but foul weather and contrary winds drove him to Zea, where he found a Venetian ship at anchor; and here again his men began to mutiny, and he had much ado to keep them from spoiling that ship. The greediness of that prey, and the ill affection they had to make trial of their fortunes elsewhere, increased their mutiny extremely; which, with much ado, was once again pacified: and in this place, by contrary winds, he was forced to stay eight days; and to divert their humour by putting idleness from them, he attempted the surprise of an island belonging to the Turk, which was not far off; the inhabitants being both Turks and Greeks, which, in this sort, was managed and put in execution.

The 15th of January, 1602, Sir Thomas landed one hundred of his men, between three and four of the clock in the morning, the moon being at full, and shining very clear; he divided them into two squadrons, whereof the vanguard was commanded by his lieutenant, and he himself had the rear, and thus they marched up towards the town, being three miles distant from the sea. After they had passed through a plain, which was about a mile in length, they came to a crooked rock, through the which there was a way cut so narrow that not above two men could march afront.

Having passed the rock without any interruption,

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they came to a hill which was very high and steep, and having recovered the top thereof, they saw the town and were soon masters thereof, it being a place indefensible and suddenly abandoned of the inhabitants, who fled into the woods and rocks and other places unpassable. Here he gave charge, upon pain of death, that no soldier of his company should touch the person or goods of any Christian; but that he needed not, for they had carried all their goods with them, leaving nought behind them but their naked and empty houses.

Being thus in possession of the town, where, finding nothing to satisfy their expectations, and in doubt what to do, whether to go forward or to return, he suddenly had intelligence, by his espials, that a great rabble of the islanders had gathered head together, with purposed resolution to set upon them, and of greater force than they were able to withstand; which Sir Thomas, understanding and perceiving his men to murmur and be afraid, commanded his lieutenant to lead them down the hill in a soldier-like retreat, and to keep an easy pace towards the ship, encouraging them not to fear the number of the Turks, for that they were a people, in those parts, unpractised and unskilful in any military discipline, and their best weapons were but staves and stones. He further gave directions that, when they came into the plain, they should make a stand, assuring them

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there could be no danger for them there, and, for his own part, he promised to do the like with the rearward. But his men being now changed from mutineers to cowards, not observing any charge or direction of their captain, without any order, posted down the hill as fast as they could trot; which the rear, perceiving, began to do the like; whereupon Sir Thomas, taking a gentleman by the hand, went a-head the rear, and so stopped their passage, that, except they would have trod upon him, they could not pass in that troubled and disordered manner.—Here they were sore beaten with stones, and many of his men hurt, and himself hurt in the leg: howbeit, they maintained skirmish awhile with them, and killed some of them, and then marched quietly, for a quarter of a mile; the inhabitants still watching all advantages to endamage them; but, at last, they recovered the plain which was within a mile of their ship, where, when the rear perceived that the vanguard was fled so far before that they were ready to go aboard, they followed as fast after, leaving their captain in the midst of all his enemies, where he could not make any of his men to stay, and share fortunes with him, notwithstanding he commanded, persuaded, and entreated all he could.

Sir Thomas being forsaken of his men and environed of his enemies, having neither mind to fly, nor desire to live, with a settled resolution and out of

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all hope of life, yet desirous to sell it at as dear a rate as he could, prest upon his enemies, and having ten Greeks assailing him at once (only accompanied with two that could not escape), forced himself to make way through them, bestowing his blows on all sides, that the islanders, themselves, well perceived how hard a matter it had been for them to have overthrown or defeated his company, if the rest had retained his courage and resolution. But he, being overcharged with multitudes, was in the end sore wounded and beaten down: where, being thus taken and disarmed, they only can judge that have undergone the like danger (if any such there be), what thoughts possessed his mind when, in this change of fortune, he found himself forsaken of his own men and now in the hands of a trustless, bloody, and barbarous people.

The misery of Sir Thomas Sherley's imprisonment in a Turkish Island.

Though it be a heavy thing for a man to fall, from a happy and prosperous state, into a wretched and lamentable condition, yet is affliction the true and perfect trial or touchstone of the soul and mind of man: for she makes a deep search into our inward parts, whether she can find a residence of those heavenly and human virtues, that, in the time of calamity ought to be in every Christian; whereof she

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found such store in the immutable mind of this most worthy gentleman, that, notwithstanding this forlorn and miserable change of his estate, he, nevertheless, held on the settled course of that confidence and constancy that he before had in the time of his prosperity.

But, to return to our history, Sir Thomas and two of his men being thus taken, and in the hands of ten of the inhabitants, nine of them were resolved to kill him: howbeit, the tenth, by entreaty and persuasion, saved his life: but they stript him of all he had, even to his boots and stockings, and binding his hands with one of his garters, led him back barefooted through the rock, so into the town. In all which time there was not a Grecian man or woman that they met by the way, but either did, or assailed to strike him.

His ship staid three days after in the harbour, but never made any attempt, either by force or entreaty, for his delivery. All the while the ship staid there they kept him in irons, but when the ship was gone they took them off, and used him in better manner than he expected from the hands of so barbarous a people. There was he kept for the space of a whole month, and, from thence, was sent, in a small open boat, to Negropont, and there delivered to the Caia (Cadi), for so is the principal officer of that island called: at the first, he was used kindly and intreated well,

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but safely kept and watched every night with a guard of eight men, four Turks and four Greeks.

After the end of five days he lent him a Janissary to carry his letters to the English Consul of Petrass, which was five days' journey from thence; howbeit, he received no answer of his letters from the Consul; but, upon the Janissary's return, he was presently committed into a dark dungeon, and with a great galley chain bound fast with a slave that was before taken, which grieved him worst of all.

He continued in this loathsome prison from the 20th of March, 1602, until the 25th of July, 1603; during which time his best diet was but bread and water, and his warmest lodging the cold ground: having oftentimes, besides the misery of his imprisonment, many threats and menaces sent him, sometimes of death, sometimes of the gallies. Being thus out of all hope of liberty and in daily expectation of death, without any comfort but such as his patience ministered unto him, where nothing was presented to the eye or ear, but matter of horror and despair, yet did he still retain in his mind that guidance and command of his affections, as they were never much moved or inwardly disturbed in the outward distraction of his senses.

In this time he wrote divers letters to the English Ambassador at Constantinople, intreating him that, in regard of his country, he would deal with the ad-

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miral Bashaw (whose prisoner he in right was) for his enlargement; protesting that, as he was a gentleman (whose name and family he knew well), he would, in as short time as he could possibly, requite his kindness at full to his contentment.

But prisons are like graves, where a man, though alive, is nevertheless buried from the regard or respect of any; for the ambassador did not answer any of his letters, but told the Bashaw he might use him according to his discretion. During this time of his miserable imprisonment, some or other had informed the Bashaw he was able to pay fifty thousand chichenos for his ransom, whereupon the Bashaw sent him guarded by four Cappages, (whom we here call Pursuivants,) from Negropont to Constantinople. There were his miseries ended in one place, to be begun and continued in another.

His misery in his imprisonment in Constantinople.

The sick man that shifteth his place yet alters not his disease, finds little comfort in the change of air or climate, for that the nature of his sickness doth kill or control that pleasure or delight which commonly keeps company with a healthful body. Such was the condition of Sir Thomas in his remove from Negropont to Constantinople, for both his usage by the way, and his entertainment there, gave him small cause of comfort; in that only he found the place

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was changed, but not the nature of his imprisonment.

Between Negropont and Constantinople is five hundred miles, and all that way he was carried upon a mule, riding upon a pack-saddle with a galley chain about his legs, and another about his waist, and many times his legs bound under the horse's belly. Sometimes he lay in houses, sometimes under trees; and whensoever he lay in any town where there were any stocks, there they lodged him; and when they failed of such a place they bound his legs together with a little chain, besides the great chain about his waist, and his hands fast locked with manacles of iron. His guard were the four Cappages which were sent by the Bashaw: it would have moved the patience of the best tempered mind to hear, and be forced to endure the despiteful taunts and opprobrious speeches, which, though not by their language, yet, by their stern countenances and behaviours, he might well understand, in all his journey between Negropont and Constantinople.

The twelfth day after their setting forth, about three of the clock in the afternoon, they entered the city. Immediately upon his coming he wrote again to the ambassador, giving him to understand the cause of his imprisonment, together with the manner of his usage and the nature of his present misery; he much importuned him that he would not leave him in his

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calamity, nor suffer him, being his countryman and a gentleman, to spend his hope, his youth, his fortune, nay, his life, in so vile and dishonourable a prison, under the cruel tyranny of an unbelieving people. But he flatly sent him word *that he would neither meddle nor make with him.* Sir Thomas being thus left all desolate and disconsolate, still armed himself with his wonted patience and settled confidence against the horror of despair, not suffering his mind to be chained and fettered (as his body) with servile thoughts and fearful apprehensions, but, in the freedom of his spirit, maintained her liberty; and in the midst of all his fears, made hope the predominant.

The next day after his coming to the city he was brought before the Bashaw, who demanded what he made in the Arches,* and why, in that hostile manner, against the law of arms and conditions of the league between both kingdoms, without leave or admittance, he had landed a forcible power with purpose to spoil and prey in that part of the Turk's dominion. Sir Thomas answered, that being violently driven into wants by the fortunes of the sea and his long travels, he was compelled to land only to refresh his men, and the rather in that country which he knew to be friend unto his King. The Bashaw replied again that his entrance was against law and

* Islands in the Grecian Archipelago.

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right; and that he was justly his prisoner; and thereupon asked presently, and in peremptory manner, what ransom he would pay for his delivery? Sir Thomas told him he knew no reason he should be enforced to pay any ransom, being in a friend's hands, whom neither in substance nor circumstance he had offended; and that if his cause were rightly scanned by an impartial judge, together with the long time and wild manner of his imprisonment, it would be thought but equity that he himself should both require, and receive, a sufficient recompence for the wrongs and miseries he had sustained. Finally, he told the Bashaw, that he held him in his own conceit and opinion to be too just and honourable to demand a ransom of him that never deserved to be a prisoner: but (to be brief,) the Bashaw told him that he knew he was a malefactor, and that his acts were violent and indirect, which he averred he could not answer, or otherwise the ambassador would not have abandoned him: withal, protested, with a high voice and stern countenance, that he would have fifty thousand chickenos for his ransom, or his head for satisfaction. Sir Thomas, doubting the cruelty of this barbarous Turk and being much wearied and weakened with the misery of a long and wild imprisonment, to buy some ease and quietness, was content to promise the payment of twelve thousand chichenos, with condition that he might be well used

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and wear no more irons. The proffer was neither taken nor refused him, but a promise was made that he should be well intreated; but it was slenderly kept, for he was had presently into the porter's lodge in the great Turk's court, and put into a filthy common gaol, where, though the first fortnight he had a good supper, he found no other bed to lie upon but the cold stones: howbeit, this had been well if worse had not succeeded: for the Bashaw, belike hearing new intelligence both of his state and alliance, and supposing that no better means could be used for the recovery of his ransom than rough handling, gave strict charge that he should, from time to time, be worse handled than hitherto he had been since the first time of his imprisonment.

Whereupon, the next morning, at break of day, he was removed to a worse place, and both his feet put into the stocks, a great iron chain about his neck, both his hands tied before him, and his body stretched out all along, with a great sharp stone laid under the reins of his back, so that it was impossible for him to stir, being also vexed continually with lice, which was not the least torment he endured; so that he often wished that the sentence of his death had been pronounced, and did willingly frame his thoughts and order his mind to entertain with patience the destiny of such a doom: for this misery touched him so near that he was content to relinquish

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all hope and desire of life, and to meditate of nothing but death.

He continued in this state from Saturday, the 23rd of August, 1603, until the Tuesday following, in which time he was suffered to rise but four times in twenty-four hours. That Tuesday, about nine of the clock, he was brought again into the presence of the Bashaw, as he sat in open court, where he renewed his old demand of fifty thousand chichenos. All Christian ambassadors have in the Bashaw's court continually two interpreters, to have a care and regard of such causes and occurrents as may concern their country. This day the English ambassador had none there: belike to avoid the importunities that Sir Thomas, in this his tragic state, might have used. But to return to the Bashaw's demand: Sir Thomas answered that he found little constancy in his words; that if his life might make satisfaction, that was in his power; and more just and honourable it were of him to take it, than to prolong it still with torment: for his own part, he would promise no more than he could perform. To be brief, he told him he might have his life, but never his demand. The Bashaw never replied, but presently commanded his head should be stricken off. But though he was rash in the doom he did deliberate in the deed, for Sir Thomas was carried back into prison, where, though he found rather an increase than any mitigation of his former

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torments, yet was his life still preserved by the miraculous power of Almighty God.

The continuation of Sir Thomas Sherley's misery, in his imprisonment in Constantinople.

Sir Thomas being thus returned into prison, and his old torments renewing, having small hopes of life, and less expectation of release, every hour awaiting the execution of his doom, a certain Jew, dwelling in the city, understanding his imprisonment and his wild manner of handling, and that he was a gentleman of account and estimation in his country, in pity and compassion of his state, found means to come and speak with him in prison: where, after a few salutations, the Jew reasoned with him in this manner. As you are a stranger both by your birth and language to this nation, so you also seem to be strange and ignorant of their natures and conditions. I have heard of your long imprisonment, and though I know not the cause, yet, I grieve much at the manner of your handling. You shall do well in this, rather to follow my counsel, that have a little experience of their customs, than wilfully to cast yourself away by ignorance. Be ruled by me and make promise of this great sum of money to the Bashaw, but take a long time for the payment. It can be no way prejudicial to you if you weigh your own state and his case aright: for if your King hold

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his amity with the Turk, and that the league be continued, whereof there is yet no doubt, you may, before the prefixed day taken for the payment, by the benefit of your King, be freed without ransom. If that fail, and a far less sum be brought in the mean time, and that he finds there is small hope of more, he will rather accept that, though it be little, than hazard your life and so lose all. And I will also give you a further comfort, which, though it proceeds but from mine own opinion without particular intelligence of any such matter, (for in this blindfolded state of Turkey, men may observe, howbeit, know nothing but to obey): this Bashaw, this great adversary of yours, that now hath your life in pursuit, is like, 'ere long, to lose his own, for the nature and quality of his place will not hold an officer long.

Sir Thomas having a wolf by the ear, wherein there was danger either to hold or let go, doubting whether he were best follow the counsel of a Jew, or trust the cruelty of a Turk, yet, having well weighed his words, wherein he could find nothing that savoured of deceit, he thought it best to follow his advice. And so, holding that determination, he found means shortly to send unto the Bashaw, to whom he promised forty thousand chichenos, conditionally to have reasonable day for the payment; and, in the mean time, to be used like a gentleman, to be kept in a house by himself, and not to

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be troubled with all manner of rascals; to have allowed him two hundred aspers a day for his diet, which is ten shillings sterling, and a servant to wait upon him.

The Bashaw was glad to receive this proffer, and promised him more than he demanded, that he should have a good house and a fair garden, that he should have two hundred aspers a day allowed him, and two servants at his choice, either men or women, to attend upon him, and that for his money he should have good meat and wine, because, (quoth the Bashaw,) I will have you contented.

Though Sir Thomas was glad at this proffer, yet was there an occasion ministered very soon after to dislike it. For, the next day, the English Ambassador wrote unto him that he was sorry for his error, as for his imprisonment, and that he intangled himself into an intricate labyrinth, out of which he could not wind himself without payment of the money. He therefore advised him to revoke his promise, and by no means to accept the Bashaw's proffer, for if he did he was either tied to his word, or his life to the Turk's disposing; and to comfort him withal, he told him, that within ten days he would procure his release, get him home to his own house, and become his bail. Whereupon, Sir Thomas trusting the Ambassador's promise, refused the Bashaw's proffer and so was carried back into his old prison, where, with great misery and distress he lay long after.

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About Michaelmas after, this Vizier Bashaw, his great adversary, was hanged according to the Jew's prophecy, which gave him cause to entertain a new hope of his delivery: for presently, upon the death of the Bashaw, he wrote again to the Ambassador, requesting him that now he would remember him, or never; for now was the time, if it pleased him to extend his credit in the court, to procure his release, his adversary being dead, and no law in the way to hinder it: and this he did, with the greater instance, importune, because, (quoth he,) I am not able to hold out long, having endured so many grievous and strange afflictions, and being so much weakened with the tedious and miserable endurance of the same. Howbeit, the Ambassador returned him this discomfortable answer, that he could do nothing till there were a new Vizier Bashaw ordained in his place, and then he would do what he could for him.

It was ten days before there was a new one made. As soon as he was installed, the Ambassador (as Sir Thomas was informed) dealt with him for his liberty, but to no purpose, for the Bashaw answered him, that it lay not in his power to do him any good; for that he was a prisoner belonging to the great Turk, and therefore could not be delivered without his consent. Whereupon, the ambassador preferred a petition to the great Turk on his behalf, who presently gave commandment he should be enlarged

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the day following, which was Thursday, and undoubtedly had the Ambassador not slacked this matter, but presently laid hold upon the Turk's command, it had been an easy matter to have set him at liberty that night. But whether it was the too much confidence that he had in the Turk's variable and uncertain humour, or that other business and intendments of his own carried his thoughts otherways, or that it was so ordained Sir Thomas his miseries should not yet have end, I cannot tell, but the matter of his release was lingered till the Sunday following, at which time, upon new advertisements, the commandment of his liberty was reversed, and he retained still in prison, laden with more cares and less hope than ever he had.

The manner of Sir Thomas Sherley's delivery by the King of England's gracious Letters to the Turk.

The merchant, after a long and dangerous voyage, having recovered with safety the haven of his desire, though utterly lost the fruit of all his labours, recounts with pleasure the perils past; leaving a glad memorial to be told in after-times by his posterity; for *contraria contrariis magis elucescunt*—contrary is best known by his contrary; we should never know the excellency of rest but by labour, nor of plenty but by want, nor of safety but by danger, nor of liberty but by restraint. And I doubt not, also, but

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Sir Thomas, together with the pleasure that he now conceives in the remembrance of his fore-passed miseries, doth not forget, in his daily prayers, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving unto that divine power that preserved him so wonderfully in all his troubles, and delivered him so happily, even from the very gulph of death and danger. But, to return to Turkey, for we have not yet brought him to England: within a fortnight after the countermand of his delivery the great Turk died, leaving his son (a boy of some fourteen years) to succeed him. Sir Thomas, in this new world, retains a new hope of his delivery, and not slacking to lay hold of any occasion, writes again to the Ambassador, requesting him, with much importunity, that it would please him to take the opportunity of this time for his release; for that he had a hope the young King, whose mind was flexible, might easily be wrought to deal graciously with him. Howbeit, the Ambassador sent him word that the boy King could do him no good, he being, by reason of his youth, under government protection, till either the Admiral come, who was then upon the confines of Turkey, or the Protector, who was shortly to return out of Egypt. At the arrival of either of them, (whosoever was first,) he protested he would solicit him in his behalf, and doubted not but he should soon work the means of his delivery; in the mean time, he willed him to comfort himself, for he would

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not pretermit any occasion proffered to do him good. Sir Thomas lingered on this hope, and bore out the brunt of many a cold and bitter hour, until the first of December, at what time the Admiral was returned; who, being importuned by the Ambassador, answer was made that he would not deal with the prisoner, till the coming of the Protector. Not long after, the Protector returned, whom the Ambassador, belike, finding untractable, soon gave over his suit.

The first day the Protector sat in judgment was Christmas day, before whom, Sir Thomas was sent for to appear, and this day, also, the Ambassador had no interpreter there. The Vizier Bashaw having called him before him, asked him why he was committed to prison? Sir Thomas answered boldly, that his fortune, and the mistaking of his attempt and enterprize in the Island, was first the cause of his restraint, but the malice and ill opinion that Hassan Bashaw conceived against him, without cause, had held him so long a poor and miserable prisoner. Honourably desiring the Protector, that, sith there was nothing questionable that might touch his life, except the enforced power and extent of authority, and that, if any fault were committed, his punishment was greater than the crime, that it would please him now, at last, to give him his liberty. But here was no such grace seated in the Protector's heart, for, without any reply, process, or order of the law,

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he gave a present and peremptory command, *that he, with his two men, should be hanged.* It booted him not to ask why; but, having prepared his mind before to such a horror, and living long in a continual expectance thereof, he yielded himself willingly thereunto, for he well knew that nought but his death would satisfy the doom. Hereupon, were Sir Thomas and his two men bound all together, and led presently away, towards the place of execution. What could he wish in such a case (besides his divine meditations,) but, that his mind and thoughts might suddenly be transported into England to execute his tongue's office, (that is), to commend his humble duty to his father and his kind remembrance to his friends and allies; to let them understand the miseries of his imprisonment, and the vileness of his death occasioned by the treachery and cowardice of his own men: from thence he might wish them suddenly posted to Spain and Persia, that his honourable brethren might understand the manner of his life and death, that, in their hostile employments against the Turks, they might be sufficiently revenged of his death.

But God did suddenly possess the heart of one of the Interpreters to the Venetian Ambassador with a Christian duty and regard of his estate, who suddenly repaired (for otherwise that had been too late) to the Protector, beseeching him that he would not, in his fury, take away the life of so gallant a gentle-

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man upon bare surmises; that if he held him worthily a prisoner, (and that but supposed), being no greater, it might please him rather to take his ransom than his life. At the first, the Protector was very obstinate, but being importuned, and having a hope of the gain of forty thousand chichenos (which were proffered) made him a little to relent, and so he commanded to stay his execution. Thus, Sir Thomas was brought from the place of death, and presently carried to another place little better, it being a prison, called the Seven Towers, where he was put into a miserable dark dungeon, and extreme cold; there he continued 'till one of the clock in the afternoon the next day: at which time the Ambassador, having understood of the misery of that place, sent one of his men to the gaoler, to entreat him that he might be removed to some better place; whereupon, he was had out of the dungeon, and put, together with his two men, into a little shed, but two yards square, built against a wall, having neither clothes, bed, fire, nor any good meat. In this state, he continued fourteen days in extreme cold weather of frost and snow; during which time, one of his men perished and died, even of very cold, and he himself was so benumbed in all his limbs, as he feared he should never again have the use of them. In this poor estate he continued 'till the beginning of April, 1604, at which time there were letters sent from the King's Majesty to

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the great Turk, and money from his father, for before that time he had received no news out of England: but, whether by negligence, or some ill accident, the letters were lost. Notwithstanding, by reason of his money, he was admitted to buy a chamber and to hire a servant to attend upon him, being still a prisoner, and having a watchful guard about him.

Thus he continued till the Christmas following: in which time, his father having understanding of his great misery sustained, together with the loss of his Majesty's former letters, and his son's present case (as it stood) became again a humble suitor to the King in his son's behalf, and, eftsoons, obtained his Majesty's gracious letters to the great Turk, for his delivery. Howbeit, those letters did not work his release, for he was still continued in prison: but, by means of them, he had no torture or torment inflicted upon him as before, but continued a prisoner till the middle of November, 1605, at which time, his Majesty, of his princely grace and favor, directed new letters to the Turk, of greater force than before, by virtue of which (and God assisting) he was delivered upon Friday, the 6th of December, in the year aforesaid, which was in this manner: the Protector Bashaw, that day, came in person to the prison, and causing him to be brought forth, delivered him, together with his man, into the hands of the Lord Am-

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bassador with these words, *he is your prisoner till the morning*. Thus being delivered, but not absolutely freed, the Lord Ambassador received him, promising to send him the next morning to the Duana, which is the name they give to their principal court, because the Bashaw told him, the Emperor held him to be his lawful prisoner, and that he had forfeited his life unto him. Howbeit, to gratify the Majesty of England, he was pleased to give him as a present to his King, and therefore he should be delivered to his Majesty's officers in open court.

The next day following being Saturday, he was brought into the Duana: there was no great doubt or question made of his delivery, only the Testados (who is, as we term him, the Lord Treasurer), cast forth a word about the King's letters, advising the Bashaw to consider what he did in the delivery of him, for that he seemed to be a great man.

The Cadiliscar (that is, as it were, the Chief Judge in deciding men's causes,) answered, he knew that well enough, and it was so generally understood; for so great Kings (quoth he) as is the Majesty of England, use not to write for mean men, and that their Emperor had freely given him to the King of Great Britain, and therefore willed him to hold his peace: but his man ran a dangerous fortune that day, for divers great men of the court stood much against him, affirming the Bashaw had no reason to deliver

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him, because he was neither mentioned in his Majesty's letters, nor in the Emperor's grant. But the Bashaw, having understood the promise of a great sum of money, after a speech made and some solemnity used, delivered both: howbeit, the Monday following being the 16th of December, remembering himself, he began to find his error, and to be afraid that he had run into danger, for releasing of his man, and thereupon presently sent to the Lord Ambassador, that he would send both Sir Thomas and his man to him again. The Lord Ambassador went to the Bashaw himself, proffering to send either of them back, and, with much ado, persuaded the Bashaw; for though he found no danger in Sir Thomas, yet, he feared much the Bashaw had a purpose to slay his man: and Sir Thomas was very loth to have his man returned again to his miserable kennel. The Turk is very strict and precise in punishing faults in his Officers; for, that very evening, the Bashaw was deprived of his place, for no other cause but delivering of his man without commission.

Thus ended the tedious trouble and misery of Sir Thomas Sherley in his imprisonment, which beginning in the Island where he was first taken the 15th of January, in the year 1602, was afterwards continued in Negropont, and, at last, ended at Constantinople upon a Friday, the 6th of December, 1605. So that the whole time of his imprisonment was three

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years, saving a few days. And here is to be noted what a stamp and impression of duty and regard the countenance of a King's letter makes in the hearts of his subjects, though in places far remote: for the Ambassador that, before that time, did but faintly assist him in all his attempts and entreaties, and was many times afraid to speak in his behalf, and often refused to trouble himself in this business, upon the receipt of his Majesty's letters, stood so stoutly by him that he flatly refused to send Sir Thomas or his man back, notwithstanding the strict command of the Vizier Bashaw, who, in his place, was a man of principal authority in the country.

Sir Thomas staid in Constantinople (a free man) from the time of his delivery, which was the 6th of December, until the 15th of February following, 1606, during which time, he took pleasure to solace himself there, where, before, he had endured so much sorrow and misery, taking a view and survey of the seat and situation of the city; observing their laws, customs, and ceremonies, beholding their courts, synagogues, and temples; with other things, not unworthy a stranger's observation.*

* His observations on Turkey and other Countries, which he visited in this expedition and on his return, are recorded in a manuscript in the Lambeth Library. An application was made to the librarian for permission to transcribe this MS., which was refused, on the ground that a bookseller must have an object of profit in view in making such request.

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And, upon the 15th of February, he departed from Constantinople in a Ragusian ship, called the Maria de la Rosaria, and landed at Gallipoli the 19th of the same month; from thence to Naples, and so, at last, to England, where, being joyfully received of his father and his friends, he now lives by the benefit of his Majesty's favour."

The remainder of this gentleman's history is unknown to us, except that we find, from a letter written by Rowland Whyte to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated 17th Sep. 1607, that "Young Sir Thomas Sherley was committed to the Tower; some say, it was for overbusying himself with the traffic of Constantinople, to have brought it into Venice and to the Florentine territories; but, be that as it will, he is fast and forthcoming."*

Here, therefore, we must leave him and his two more celebrated brethren, only adding, that their travels are frequently alluded to by contemporary writers; and that they are the subject of a play, entitled, "The Three English Brothers,—Sir Thomas, Sir Anthony, and Mr. Robert Sherley, Lond. 1607, written by a Trinity of Poets, John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins." As a dramatic production, it is utterly worthless; and as an historical record cannot, of course, be relied on, although the poets profess to have adhered to the truth; but the

* Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii.

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affidavit of a poet, as Fuller says, carrieth but a small credit in the Court of History. Their uncommon adventures are, however, closely allied to the poetical and romantic, and have the air of fiction rather than of real history. Their age, indeed, was one of adventure and discovery, and was adorned by many master spirits; by Raleigh, and Sidney, and Essex; by a crowd of warriors and of poets, who met on the confines which separated chivalry and modern manners, and who united the ancient spirit of enterprize with intellectual accomplishments. The illustrious fraternity, whose travels and adventures have been the subject of the foregoing pages, are deemed not unworthy of such an age, and some pains have accordingly been bestowed in collecting information respecting them: that information is embodied in the preceding narrative.

THE END.

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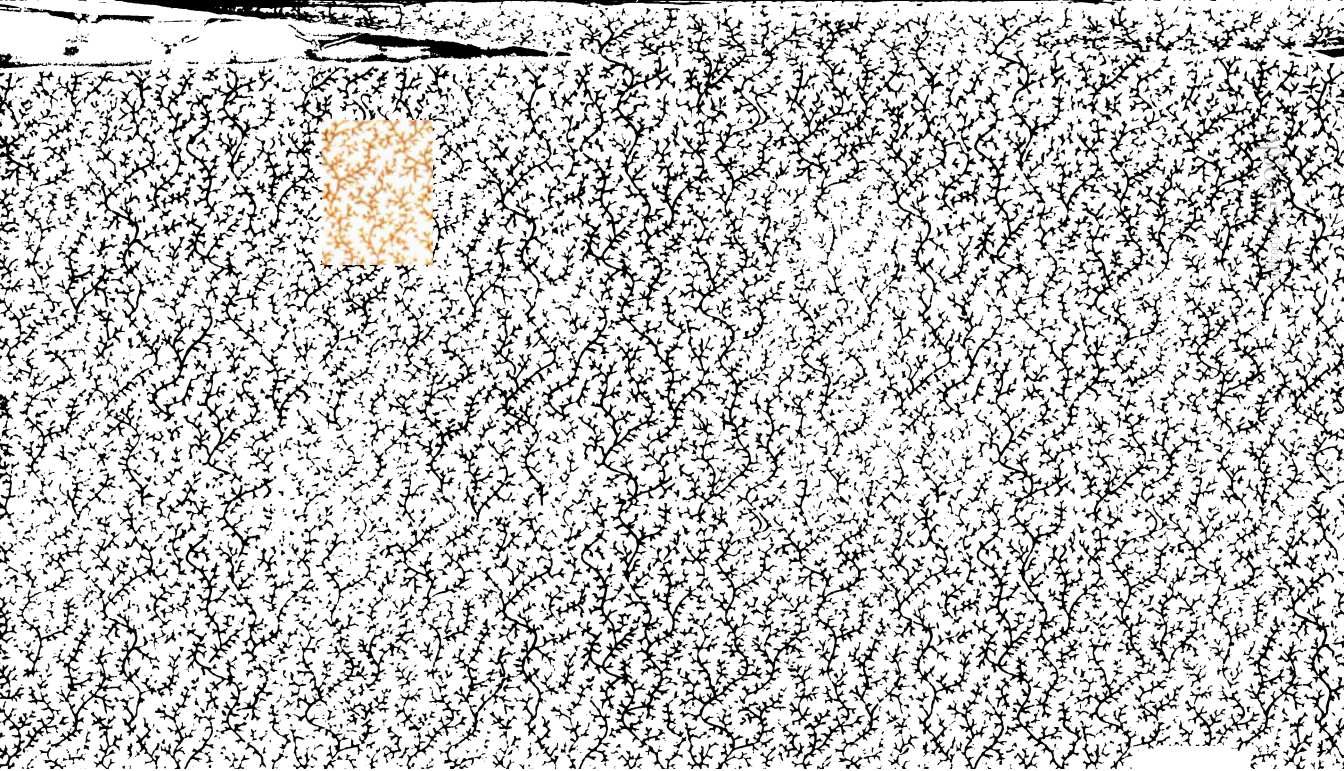

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